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THE
STEWARTS OF APPIN.

BY

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AND

LIEUT.-COL. DUNCAN STEWART, LATE 92^d HIGHLANDERS.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION BY MACLACHLAN AND STEWART.

1880.

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THE STEWARTS OF APPIN.

H. Walford 10.50
THE origin and early genealogy of the House of Stewart have engaged the attention and labours of numerous archæologists. The position occupied by the family in Scotland, and their relations with the throne, have connected them closely with the recorded history, as well as with the traditions of the country. The genealogists of the last century had no difficulty in tracing with accuracy, and with the support of deeds and charters of the kings of Scotland, their descent from Alan, father of Walter the first High Steward of Scotland under King David I., who reigned 1124 to 1153. But the researches of later antiquaries have not only brought to light proofs of their having been seated in Norfolk in 1100, and in Shropshire a few years later, but have also demonstrated the probability of the correctness of the traditional and generally received accounts of their Celtic descent.

Where records exist the task is easy, but it becomes more difficult when we reach the period where charters end, and tradition begins. But to reject, as absolutely unworthy of credit, all history or tradition which cannot be established by conclusive or documentary proof, would be to efface almost entirely the early annals of our country, for such proof it is impossible, in most instances, to obtain; and we should thus leave unaccounted for the many monuments of the piety and patriotism of our ancestors, and should consequently rob them of the credit which is justly due to their valour and to their zeal for religion. Thus for instance, Christian temples were built and the Danes were expelled from

Scotland. Are Iona and Loncarty to be regarded but as names, not as realities? Should we not, instead of disregarding the traditions and memorials of the past, do all in our power to preserve them, until further researches shall enable the enquirer to discover the exact truth? In this view, the reader shall be presented with such information and particulars regarding the early history of the House of Stewart as can be collected from the most approved authorities, and it will be for himself to determine the value to be placed on their testimony.

Among the various authorities from which this account has been compiled, are Fordun's History, Winton's Chronicles, Barbour's Bruce, Blind Harry's Wallace, Holinshed's Chronicles, Buchanan's History of Scotland, Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collection, Sir David Dalrymple's Annals, Camden's Britannia, Crawford's History of the Stewarts, Abercromby's History, Anderson's Royal Genealogies, Simson's History of the Stewarts, Sir Robert Douglas' Peerage, Duncan Stewart's Genealogy of the Stewarts, Andrew Stuart's Genealogy of the Stewarts, Sir Henry Steuart's reply to Andrew Stuart, Brown's Genealogical Tree of the Royal Family of Stewart, Nisbet's Heraldry, Drummond of Hawthornden's History, Eyton's Antiquities of Shropshire, and his Account of the Origin and Early History of the Houses of Fitzalan and Stuart, Corbet Anderson's Antiquities of Shropshire, Chalmers' Caledonia, Gordon's Monasticon, Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, Lives of the Lindsays, Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Pont's Cuninghame, Fraser's Earls of Southesk, The Black Book of Taymouth, Burke's Genealogy of the Princes of North Wales, Burke's Armoury, Macaulay's History, Skene's Highlanders and Celtic Scotland, MSS. in the British Museum, Historical MSS. in the Register House, Edinburgh, and various Histories of the Highlands, and family papers.

The descent of the ancestors of the Stewarts from King Fergus I., whose reign began B.C. 330, and who was the contemporary of

Alexander the Great, and Darius the Mede, King of Persia, is traced by various historians and genealogists through thirty-five generations of kings, down to

ETHUS, who succeeded his brother, Constantine II., A.D. 875. At this point the descent of the progenitors of the Stewarts diverges from that of the Crown, into the line of Doir, second son of Ethus. But on the death of King David II. in 1371, the representation of the main line devolved upon his nephew, Robert II., the descendant and representative of Doir.

DOIR, second son of Ethus, was Maormor of Lochaber, and married Osfleda, daughter of Osbert, King of Northumberland. Died 936.

MURDOCH, son of Doir, married Helen, or Dervegil, daughter of Hugh, said to be the ancestor of the Douglasses. He died 959.

FARQUHARD, son of Doir, Maormor of Lochaber, married Idua, daughter of Eric of Norway, and was killed at Loncarty in 980.

KENNETH, son of Farquhard, Maormor of Lochaber, married Dunclina, daughter of King Kenneth III. Died 1030.

BANCHO, son of Kenneth, Maormor of Lochaber, General of the army with Macbeth, Governor of the Western Isles under King Duncan I. Simson and other Historians say he was a Chief Officer of the Crown, and employed as Steward in gathering in the Royal revenues. He defeated Sueno, King of Norway, who had landed an army at Kinghorn in Fife, and also the forces of Canute, King of Denmark, near Teith. He married Maud, grand daughter of Garede, Thane or Maormor of Atholl, and was murdered, with his three eldest sons, by Macbeth about 1050.

FLEANCE, son of Bancho. Of him we read in Buchanan's History, that on the murder of his father and brothers, he escaped "secretly to Wales;" and in Corbet Anderson's Early History and Antiquities of Shropshire, that when Macbeth, King of Scotland, "sought about the year 1050, to secure the succession in his own line, by putting to death, and confiscating the estates of those whom he suspected of plotting the

restoration of Malcolm Canmore, amongst those who fled from his reach was Fleance, son of Banquo, the murdered Thane of Lochaber. He fled to the Prince of North Wales, Gryffyth ap Lewellyn, with whose daughter Guenta being enamoured, the Welsh Princess bore to Fleance a son Alan." Gryffyth ap Lewellyn was originally the Prince of Powys, of which principality Shropshire formed part. He conquered North Wales, and married Alditha (whose second husband was Harold, slain at Hastings), daughter of Albus the Saxon Earl of Mercia, by whom he had the above mentioned daughter Guenta. Of the same family was Meredith ap Bleddyn, whose estates in Shropshire Alan, filius Flaaldi or Fleanchi, afterwards received; and a lineal descendant of the family, twelve generations later, was the renowned Owen Glendower, in assisting whom, Sir Robert Stewart of Durrisdere, elder son of Sir Robert Stewart of Schanbothy, was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403.

Ralph Holinshed, in his *Chronicles*, written A.D. 1577, says, that on account of their consanguinity with the murdered Duncan, "Macbeth devised to slea Banquo and his sounes. It chanced through the benefit of the dark night that though the father was slain, the son yet, by the help of Almighty God reserving him to better fortune, escaped that danger, and to avoid further peril fled into Wales."

All genealogists concur in saying that Jean, daughter and heiress of Angus Macrory, or M'Roderick, Lord of Bute, who was married to Alexander, fourth High Steward, was of her husband's blood and family. The relationship is acknowledged even by those genealogists, who reject the descent from Fleance, as not being proved by direct documentary evidence. It is almost certain she was not a descendant of her husband's family after their return to Scotland, but Duncan Stewart, M.A. (1739), says Kenneth, father of Banquo, had a daughter, Gunora, married to Malcolm Macrorie of Bute, and it does not appear how Jean, heiress of Bute, and her husband could be connected in any other way.

Of Flaaldus or Fleanchus we know little, except by tradition. His name appears to have been variously spelled; he is called Fladald in various charters to his son. Dugdale gives his name as Flathald. Leland calls his son Alan Fleilsone, and in the Fitzwarine Chronicle he is named Alan Fitz Flaen. In 1275 the Norfolk jurors spoke of the father of Alan as "a certain knight called Flancus." There are many circumstances in the history of Alan, and his son Walter, which point to their connection with Wales. Alan was undoubtedly a man of high position, but neither in the Domesday Book, the Roll of Battle Abbey, nor in any notice of those who accompanied William the Conqueror from Normandy, is his name or his father's included.

Camden says Fleance was murdered on account of the favour with which he, a stranger, was looked upon by the Prince, about the year 1060, leaving one son, Alan.

ALAN, born about A.D. 1050. In consequence of a quarrel at the Welsh Court, about 1067, Alan returned to his father's native country of Scotland, at a time when Edgar Atheling, with his mother and two sisters, had left England, and had placed themselves under the protection of Malcolm III., who soon after married Margaret, the elder of the two princesses. Alan rapidly distinguished himself in the service of Malcolm, and he also served in the Crusade of 1096-9. Robert Stewarde, last Prior and first Dean of Ely, says "he performed great things in the Holy Land under the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon." In 1100 he seems to have gone to England in the suite of the Princess Matilda, who, on the 11th November in that year, became the wife of Henry I. Having been formerly distinguished as a servant of King Malcolm, and more recently as a Crusader, Alan seems to have been retained in the service of Henry I. on account of capabilities which, at that period of his reign, were so much needed by the King. The learned Eyton, whom we have quoted above, and who has examined with the utmost attention and critical research the legends and records relating to the "Origin and early History of the Houses of Fitzalan

and Stuart," as well as the "Antiquities and Archæological History of Shropshire," relates how Henry I., as a means of strengthening his hold on the English sceptre, to which his title was doubtful, selected as his principal counsellors a small but able band of chieftains, preferring foreigners to Normans; "such," he says, "in Shropshire were Warin de Metz, a Lorrainer, the three Peverels, and greatest of all, Alan, son of Flaald."

It has been indeed contended, though we do not admit the contention, that the father of Alan was of Breton origin. Main, son of Theon, granted (1040-66) to the Cell or Priory of Combourg, dependent on the Abbey of Marmoutier, his rights in the church of Guguen, on the restoration to health of his sons Hamon and Walter. It has been conjectured that Walter was the father of

I. FLEDALD, who had issue—

1. ALAN, Seneschal of the Church of Dol; transferred, between 1076 and 1081, his rights within the vill of Mezuoit, to the new church of St Florent at Dol; gave, before 1084, by the name of Alan Fitz-Floaud, all his rights in the church of Guguen to the monks of Marmoutier; went to the Crusades 1096 (Ordericus Vitalis). *D. s.p.* The town of Dol was formerly of considerable strength, and it has been thought that it may have been the siege of this place, in 1076, which introduced the brothers to the notice of William the Conqueror.
2. FLEDALD, who succeeded his brother Alan.
3. RIWALLON, a monk of St Florent at Saumur.

II. FLEDALD, consents, 1076-81, to his brother Alan's grant to St Florent at Dol; probably dead before 1101, as there is evidence in one of Henry I.'s charters of 3d September in that year, that his son Alan was then in possession of the Norfolk fief, leaving issue, a son—

III. ALAN, witnesses two charters of Henry I. at Windsor, 3d September 1101; 1100-5 Sheriff of Shropshire; was one of those in

whose "seeing and hearing" Henry I. confirmed at York, to the monks of Marmoutier, the donation of Ralph Paynel. By his wife Avelina, he left issue—

1. JORDAN, mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1130; died before 1147, leaving issue—

ALAN. Alan Fitz Jordan Fitz Alan inherited the Brittany estates; confirmed, 1154-61, his grandfather's grant to Marmoutier; founded the Abbey of St Mary of Tronchet, near Dol, before 1147. (*Gallia Christiana*, vol. xiv.)

2. WILLIAM, called "Juvenis" by Ordericus in 1138; inherited the English estates; ancestor of the Fitz-Alans.
3. WALTER, Steward of Scotland; ancestor of the Stewarts.

The chartulary of St Florent, near Saumur, containing these grants, has not yet been published, but Lobineau's transcription of them has been taken as correct.

The similarity of the family names is, no doubt, extremely striking, but it cannot be held to be conclusive evidence until the connection of this Breton family with England is proved. Conclusions from such premisses, when unsupported by connecting evidence, would be, in the great majority of cases, erroneous. For instance, we find from the chartulary of St Peter of Chartres, that a Walter Fitz-Fleald or Fledald held a considerable fief near Boisville, under Walter de Alneto, which he had acquired with his wife Fredesindis, and that he was a great benefactor to the abbey. Here also, the similarity of family names is remarkable, but any broad deductions drawn from such an occurrence are unwarrantable. Indeed, some positive and not merely inferential proof seems necessary before we can reject a tradition so long and so firmly rooted as that of the Celtic descent of Fleance. But these two theories, apparently so widely divergent, might, perhaps, be reconciled by the supposition—if we felt disposed to adopt this method of supplementing our genealogical information—that Fleance fled from the

Welsh Court to the kindred country of Brittany, whither the knowledge of the language acquired in Wales might be one of the reasons for his flight, and where he subsequently married; his Scottish name, Fleance, being changed into a name more in harmony with the nomenclature of his adopted country. Indeed Duncan Stewart records at considerable length the tradition then universally believed of the flight to Brittany, and the subsequent marriage there; but in his account these incidents belong to the history of Fleance's son, not to that of Fleance himself, a mistake the explanation of which will be found at p. 16.

The first recorded mention of Alan in England belongs to 1101. On September 3d of that year the King held a great Court at Windsor, and a charter then granted to Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, is signed by witnesses, "illustrious of England, ecclesiastical and secular," the list being headed by the name of Queen Matilda, and followed, among others, by that of Alan, which occupies a high position on the roll, standing before those of Gilbert and Roger Fitz-Richard, Robert Malet, and Herbert, the King's chamberlain (*Monasticon*, iv. 17, v.)

Another charter, by which Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, founded the Cathedral Priory of his see, passed on the same occasion, and was attested by nearly the same witnesses as the first, including the King and Queen and Alan Fitz-Flaald. This charter confirms the "Church of Langham, which had been Alan's, and his (Alan's) tithes." Now Langham was afterwards a recognized portion of Fitz-Alan's Honour of Mileham, from which it was not far distant. We see from the Hundred Rolls (i. 434) that the tenure of this fief was made a subject of report by a provincial jury in 1275. The jurors of the hundred of Launditch, in Norfolk, said that "Melam (Mileham), with its appurtenances, was in the hands of William the Bastard at the Conquest, and the said king gave the said manor to a certain knight, who was called Flancus," etc. But these gentlemen, in their wish to record the Norfolk tradition, and to designate the father of Fitz-Flaad, proceed to adulterate this probable approach to etymological correctness with a

great historical inaccuracy, for they add, "who came with the said King into England," etc. Of such a Norman knight, however, there is nowhere, as has been before observed, any trace whatever to be found. Summarily, then, we conclude that Alan Fitz-Flaald had acquired a part of his Norfolk fief before September 1101, and had already granted a church and tithes therein towards the endowment of Norwich Priory. Henry I. also gave Alan the manor of Eaton, which he transferred to Norwich Priory, apparently before November 1109, as that was the date on which the king promised a confirmatory charter "when Alan shall come to my court."

Alan made a further grant of land, his wife Adelina being a party to the charter, to the Priory of Castle Acre, a Cluniac house on the western boundary of his honour of Mileham. He was also a benefactor (as were his son and grandson) to the Cell of St Peter, at Sele in Sussex.

Passing now to the connection of Alan with Shropshire, we find that Warin, the first Sheriff of Shropshire, was dead at the time of Domesday, 1085-6, leaving, by his marriage with Ameria, the niece of Earl Roger de Montgomery, an infant son Hugh. Ameria was remarried to Rainald de Ballol, and Rainald, either in right of his wife, or as guardian of Warin's heir, held the Shrievalty and the lands of Warin, both of which he ceded to Hugh on the latter's attaining a sufficient age. Hugh, however, died without issue, and the Shrievalty and attached barony reverted to the Crown, and we read (*Monasticon*, III. 519, col. A), "*Alanus filius Fladaldi honorem Vicecomitis Warini post filium ejus suscepit.*" From these words has arisen the unwarranted assumption that Alan acquired his Shropshire fief by marrying a supposed daughter and eventual heir of Warin, but there is no confirmation whatever of such a marriage.

It appears, therefore, that Alan received by a new investiture, and by grant of Henry I., the whole "Honour of the Sheriff of Shropshire," which lay chiefly in Shropshire, but which included also the lands of Wolston and Stretton super Dunesmore in Warwickshire, certain manors

in Staffordshire, and Arundel in Sussex. In 1109, on the occasion of the visit of Henry I. to Shropshire, Alan's name appears as attesting a judicial decision of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, regarding some right of Shrewsbury Abbey, and to the same Abbey and at the same time, Alan Fitz-Fladald, with ready devotion, conceded all things which had been bestowed by his predecessors or by his barons, whether in his time or previously.

In summing up the evidence which he had so laboriously collected, of which the preceding is only an abstract, Eyton remarks that the change from Fleanchus to Flaaldus is not very great, when we compare it with other instances, when a foreign name had to be accommodated to the English ear. It might have been added that Fleance's change of country may also have involved a partial change of name. The opinions of Eyton are also shared by Corbet Anderson, who says, "Meanwhile, Hugh, son of Warine, having deceased without issue, Alan Fitz Flaald received, by grant, from Henry I., A.D. 1102, the honour of the Sheriff of Shropshire. It is a question who the new lord of Upton Magna was, but that Alan Fitz Flaald was progenitor of the Royal House of Stewart is beyond a doubt." The passage previously quoted as to the identity of Fleanchus with Flaaldus follows, and Anderson thus continues, "The change from Fleanchus to Flaaldus is certainly not very great, especially when we bear in mind that the nomenclature of that period was far from fixed. According to this, then, Alan Fitz Flaald was grandson of Gryffyth ap Lewellyn, Prince of North Wales. Now, as Gryffyth married Alditha, daughter of Albus, King of Mercia, by whom he had Guenta, it follows that Alan Fitz Flaald, legitimate or illegitimate, was the great-grandson of the Saxon Earl of Mercia. Henry I., be it remembered, married a Scoto-Saxon princess; therefore, in giving Alan Fitz Flaald the specific fief of the Sheriff of Shropshire, he may be supposed to have been actuated by a variety of motives. In the first place, he (Henry I.) was planting in the very van of border warfare, a chieftain who sprang from the native princes of

North Wales. Secondly, descending, as Alan did, from the Saxon Earl of Mercia, Henry I. acted in accordance with his well-known policy of conciliating the English. Again he, who now became lord of Upton Magna, represented a house illustrious in that land of Scots, where Henry I. had married his queen."

It is certainly noteworthy that "Flathail," which, in its spelling, is almost identical with the Flathald of Dugdale, and in its pronunciation (Fla-al) so closely resembles Flaald, signifies in the Gaelic language "princely." Without attaching undue weight to phonetic etymologies, it is impossible to avoid remarking how appropriately this epithet would describe, in an age where names were so commonly derived from personal characteristics, the youthful stranger, whose appearance and demeanour procured for him, as Holinshed so quaintly narrates, such signal favour in the eyes of the Welsh princess. In the Welsh the cognate word is "gwlad," pronounced flād, which also bears what seems to be a very significant resemblance to Flaald, the Flaaldus of the charters quoted.

Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," says, "Alan was undoubtedly a person of great consequence at the accession of Henry I. He was a frequent witness to the king's charters, along with other eminent personages of that splendid Court." Besides witnessing the above-mentioned charters of 3d September 1101, "he was a witness to a charter of Henry I., together with Matilda, his queen, the daughter of Malcolm Canmore, and other personages of the highest rank, dated the 18th September 1101, which charter was engraved in 1728, from the original in the possession of Matthew Howard, the Lord of the Manor of Thorp, near Norwich. He also witnessed another charter of Henry I. at Canterbury, and one of Willian Peverel to the Church of St Peter at Shrewsbury. Alan subscribed all these charters, 'Ego, Alanus Flaaldi filius.'"

He married between 1100 and 1105 Adelina, called also Avelina and Adeliza, daughter of Ernulph de Hesding, half-sister, and in her issue co-heir of Ernulph de Hesding the second, who, for his brave de-

fence of Shrewsbury in 1138, was so mercilessly put to death by Stephen. The various fees in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and elsewhere, which formed the Domesday Barony of Ernulph de Hesding, were found in 1165 to be divided among coparceners, a third being vested in the representatives of Alan Fitz Flaald.

They had four sons :—

- I. WILLIAM. In 1126, at the time when William was entering upon manhood, the Earldom of Shrewsbury had continued in the crown for twenty-four years ; and Henry I., having then convened an assembly of his prelates and barons at London during the feast of Christmas, gave the county of Salopesbury, says William of Malmesbury (*Hist. Novell*, lib. I., sub. init.), to his second wife, Adelais, daughter of the Duke of Louvain. The Queen appointed for her viscount or sheriff, William Fitzalan, “a baron not inferior to earls,” in the estimate of a contemporary writer (*Gesta Regis Stephani*, 356). William married first Christiana, niece of Robert, the consul, Earl of Gloucester. She died in 1153, leaving one son, Alan, who died in infancy, and was buried at Haughmond. William married, secondly, Isabel, daughter and sole heiress of Helias de Say, Lord of Clun. Their son, William Fitz-Alan (II), born about 1154, married the daughter of Hugh de Lacy of Ewyas, and died June 1211, having had issue, William (who died 1216, *s.p.*), and John Fitz-Alan. John, who died about June 1240, married first, Isabel de Albini, in her issue co-heir of the Earls of Arundel. Their great-grandson, Richard Fitz-Alan, born 3d February 1267, succeeded to the Earldom of Arundel, and changed his residence from Shropshire to Sussex. The escheat rolls of Henry V. show that Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who died without issue, possessed, among other great estates,

Oswestrie, the original seat of Alan, and Clune Castle, the demesne of William, the son of Alan. The Earldom of Arundel, with the baronies of Fitz-Alan, Clun, Oswaldestrie, and Maltravers, became merged in 1556 in the Dukedom of Norfolk by the marriage of Mary, daughter and eventual heir of Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, with Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572 for his adherence to the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots. The earldom (a feudal honour, as adjudged in Parliament, 8th July 1433, eleventh Henry VI.), is held by possession of Arundel Castle only, without any creation, and also by summons to Parliament, 16th June 1580.

2. WALTER, afterwards High Steward of Scotland.
3. JORDAN, occurs 1129 and 1130, as in possession of lands granted to him in Lincolnshire. He must have died before 1147, and his line appears to have become extinct in the person of his son, Alan Fitz-Jordan Fitz-Alan, who was a benefactor of the Cell of St Peter at Sele, in Sussex, belonging to the Abbey of St Florand, in Anjou.
4. SIMON, who accompanied Walter to Scotland, and witnessed his charter to the Abbey of Paisley about 1160, signing as "Frater Walteri, filii Alani, dapiferi." Simon had a son, Robert, who is designed in the chartulary of Paisley nephew of Walter, the High Steward, and from him the Earls of Kilmarnock were descended. To this Robert, the name of Boyt or Boyd was given, derived from the Gaelic word "Boidh," signifying fair or yellow. William, fourth and last Earl of Kilmarnock, joined Prince Charles in 1745, and was executed on Tower Hill on the 18th August 1746, when the earldom ceased, but his son, James, succeeded his grand-aunt, the Countess

Mary, in the Earldom of Errol. The armorial shield of the Kilmarnock family bore the fess chequé.

Also, a daughter, Sibil, married in or before 1132 to Roger de Freville. Alan died about 1114, and was succeeded in his Shropshire fief by his eldest son, William.

WALTER, the second son of Alan Fitz-Flaald, together with the rest of his family, took an active part on behalf of the Empress Maude, the niece of King David I. of Scotland, in her conflict with Stephen for the English crown. Hume notices William Fitz-Alan as a powerful partisan on the side of Maude. Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," writes as follows :—"Walter, the son of Alan, undoubtedly obtained from David I., and from his successor, Malcolm IV., great possessions, a high office, and extensive patronage. And it may be reasonably asked by what influence he could acquire from two kings so much opulence and such an office? David I. was a strenuous supporter of the claims of his niece, the Empress Maude, in her severe contest with Stephen. William, the brother of Walter, influenced by the Earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I., and the powerful partisan of his sister, the Empress, seized Shrewsbury in September 1139, and held it for her interest. Walter attended her, with King David, at the siege of Winchester in 1141, where they were overpowered by the London citizens, and obliged to flee. Such, then, were the bonds of connection between David I. and the sons of Alan, who were also favoured by the Earl of Gloucester. It was, probably, on that occasion that Walter accompanied David into Scotland. William, the son of Alan, adhered steadily to the Empress, and was rewarded by Henry II. for his attachment. Thus Walter, the son of Alan, could not have had more powerful protectors than the Earl of Gloucester with David I., and Henry II. with Malcolm IV." Chalmers might also have included, among other reasons for David's favour for Walter, that it was well known to both that they were already allied in blood. William, the elder brother, as heir to his father, was amply provided for; but Walter, though not

without lands, would only have a younger son's portion. Mr W. Fraser says that, before going to Scotland, Walter had lands in appanage, being the provision made for him as younger son, at Oswestrie, of the Fitz-Alan fief or barony, adjoining the lands of the Priory of Wenlock. In his "Stewartiana," Mr Riddell quotes an inquisition, made in 1185, by Galfrid Fitz-Stephen, into all previous grants in favour of the Knight-Templars, where we find "Apud Carditonam ex dono Willielmi filii Alani tota villa de Carditona et Huchmerse, ex dimidia villa de Chatterville et confirmatione domini regis. . . . Adam Albus pro dimidia virgata XL eli. Apud Covetone ex dono Walteri filii Alani Robertus et Hanno filius pro 1 virgata Vs." Mr Riddell calls this a "clinching proof" of the first High Steward's connection with Shropshire. "Carditona" is Cardington in Shropshire, lying in Oswestry Hundred, and in the vicarage of Wenlock. "Coveton" is Cotton in Shropshire, also in Oswestry Hundred, and in the old writings of the place is styled Coveton. The "*Liber Niger Saccarii*" contains a list of English fiefs from 1100 to 1154, in the reign of Henry I., and among the vassals of "Willielmi filii Alani" there is mentioned "Walterus filius Alani," as holding "feodum 11 militum." It appears, also, from the Harleian MS. in the British Museum, that William, probably between 1155 and 1160, "invested" his brother in his Sussex manor of Stoke, and "this feoffment must have been over and above those two knights' fees of new feoffment, which, in 1165, Walter Fitz-Alan is said to have held in the barony of his nephew. Walter had revisited England at his brother's restoration in 1155, after the accession of Henry II."

Holinshed writes :—"Walter proved a man of greater courage and valiance than any other had been commonly found, and there reigned in him a certain stoutness of stomach ready to attempt high enterprises."

Walter was appointed, by David I., High Steward of Scotland, and was the first to hold that great office, the chief, under the king, in the

monarchy. Down to the beginning of the present century, Brown and other genealogists were of opinion that two members of the House of Stewart, Walter and Alan, held that office before "Walterus filius Alani." Pinkerton, about 1775, pointed out the probability that the origin of the family, and that of the noble English race of Fitz-Alan would probably be found to be identical, and this was followed up, as we have seen, by Chalmers. "Walterus filius Alani" could not have been the son of Fleanchus; and the older genealogists, searching for members of the family to fill the blank space of time, found one man, Alan or Alden, who witnessed charters of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland—afterwards, from 1146 to 1166, Earl of Dunbar,—to the religious houses at Durham and Melros. This Alden designed himself "Alden Dapifer," and he was supposed to be the father of "Walterus filius Alani." As a Walter was manifestly first High Steward, they were compelled to interpolate another Walter, as father of Alan or Alden. Duncan Stewart, M.A., in his "History of the Stewarts," published in 1739, was evidently puzzled with this Alden, and thought he might be Stewart or "Dapifer" to Gospatric, and later investigations show that he was right. A little later, Sir David Dalrymple, in his "Annals," declared that Walter, who lived in the reigns of David I. and Malcolm IV., was, indeed, Steward of Scotland; but that there was at that time no authentic knowledge of the family previous to him.

The proofs, besides those already quoted, that Walter, the first High Steward of Scotland, was brother to William Fitz-Alan, seem ample. As witness to the charters of David I., and in his own, he always subscribed himself "Walterus filius Alani." He founded, about 1160, the Abbey of Paisley for monks of the Cluniac order of Reformed Benedictines, whom he brought from Wenlock in Shropshire. The first actual settlement of the monks was at the Inch of Renfrew, in the neighbourhood of the residence of the founder, the church being dedicated to St Mary and St James. It has, indeed, been supposed that

the original intention of the Steward was that they should be permanently seated there, but the terms of the charter seem to make it more probable that it was not proposed that their settlement on the Isle should be other than temporary, and merely until the house at Paisley should be ready for their reception. The first grant was that of "the church of Passelet, with two ploughs of land," followed by the confirmation of Walter's charter to the monks of St Milburga of Wenlock, of this grant on the Inch or Isle of Renfrew. While the monks were still seated on this island, they received from Walter a further grant, confirmed by Malcolm IV., of various lands in Roxburghshire, Haddingtonshire, and Renfrewshire. A few years after their settlement on the Inch of Renfrew, the monks removed to Paisley, where their house was still more munificently endowed, the Inch of Renfrew being subsequently resigned to the grandson of the founder for certain other lands. The charter to the monastery is in Latin, and the following is a translation of the preamble:—"Be it known to all present and to come, that I, Walter, the son of Alan, High Steward to the King of Scotland, for the soul of King David, King Henry, and Earl Henry, and also for the soul of King Malcolm, and of myself, and of my wife and heirs, and also for the souls of my ancestors and benefactors, for the honour of God and of the blessed Virgin Mary, erect a certain house of religion below my land of Paisley (of the order of the brotherhood of Wenlock), viz., according to the order of Clugny, with the concurrent consent of the convent of Wenlock, and for the erecting of that house I have thirteen of the brotherhood of Wenlock," etc. The Earl Henry was the only son of David I., and King Henry was the King of England, to whom we have seen the family of Fitz-Alan was so much indebted. The connection of the Fitz-Alans with Clune and Wenlock has been already fully noticed. The monastery of Wenlock was founded by Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury. Among those who accompanied Walter from Shropshire was "Robert de Mundegumbri," on whom Walter bestowed the manor of Eglisham, granted

to him by David I., and it was until very recently held by the Earl of Eglinton, the representative of the family of Montgomerie in Scotland.

The Melros Chronicle says, that in 1169 "Humbardus Prior de Weneloc adduxit conventum apud Passelet, qui est juxta Renfriew." Among other witnesses formerly connected, like the founder, with Shropshire, are Robert de Mundegumbri, Robert, Geoffrey, and Walter de Costentin, Richard Wall:, Robert de Nesse, Alan the grantor's son, and Alexander de Hasting. By the chartulary of Paisley it appears that Walter gave Humbard for his services some lands and right of herring fishing in Clydesdale, but that he afterwards gave in exchange for them some land in the south-west of Sussex, where Walter possessed other properties.

In 1334 John Baliol having been put, by the help of Edward III., in temporary occupation of the Scottish throne, confiscated the whole possessions of Robert Stewart, son of Walter Stewart and Marjory Bruce, the High Steward. In 1335 Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had accompanied Edward III. into Scotland, claimed the forfeited office as his by hereditary right, and sold it to Edward for 1000 merks. The claim was, of course, illusory, as Richard Fitzalan could have no shadow of right to the office till all the descendants of Walter, first Steward, were extinct; and though it was only made to give Edward a pretence for interfering further in Scottish affairs, it shows the connection at that time recognised as existing between the families. Edward obtained from Baliol, in 1340, a confirmation of this transaction, a record of which is still extant in the English Crown Archives.

The charter given by Walter to the monastery of Paisley was signed A.D. 1160, at Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire, a manor inherited by Malcolm IV., along with the earldom of Huntingdon. Malcolm was there at that time, doing homage for his English lands to Henry II., who was then at Wodstoke, not far distant from Malcolm's castle of Fotheringhay, which was destined to be the place of the imprisonment and execution, rather more than four hundred years later,

of his unhappy descendant Queen Mary, in 1587. The monastery was dedicated generally to God and the blessed Virgin, and, in particular, to St James, St Milburga, and St Mirin, and it eventually numbered under its patronage thirty-one churches, as appears from its chartulary, which comes down to 1548. The foundation was confirmed by King William the Lion, and also by Pope Innocent III., and by Stephen, abbot of the parent house of Cluny in Burgundy. On the seal of the abbey is, says Laing, "a figure of St James with pilgrim's staff and scrip, at each side a shield, the dexter bearing a fess chequé for Stewart, the sinister a saltire cantoned with four roses for Lennox," the great Lords of Lennox and the Isles being also munificent benefactors of the Abbey. It was one of the four holy places in Scotland to which pilgrimages were made, the others being Scone, Dundee, and Melrose.

Dr Lees, in his history of the Abbey of Paisley, says that St James was peculiarly the patron saint of the Stewarts, and that St Milburga was the founder and the patron saint of Wenlock, the oldest and the most wealthy of the religious houses of Shropshire. St Milburga was daughter of Merewald, the Christian founder of Leominster Priory, and granddaughter of Penda, last Saxon pagan king of Mercia. St Mirin was a Celtic Saint, a pupil of St Cougal, Abbot of Bangor, and the friend and frequent visitor of St Columba at Iona. St Mirin's name is frequently found in Scots Kalendars, and he is distinguished as the first preacher of Christianity to the natives of Clydesdale. Dr Lees and others, who hold that Walter was of Norman lineage, express surprise that he should have selected a Saxon and a Celtic saint as patrons of his munificently endowed Church at Paisley; but his own Celtic and Saxon descent fully account for the choice, which, indeed, could otherwise hardly be explained.

Malcolm IV. confirmed the grants of land which David I. had made to Walter, and also that of the office of High Steward, making it hereditary in his family. The following is the translation of the charter, as

given by Crawford :—" Malcolm, King of Scots, to the bishops, abbots, barons, justices, sheriffs, provosts, officers, and all good men, clergy, laity, French and English, Scots, and inhabitants of Galloway, through all his dominions, both present and to come, greeting, Be it known to all men that before I took up arms, I granted, and have by this, my charter, confirmed in hereditary succession to Walter, the son of Alan, my high Steward, and to his heirs in fee farm and inheritance, my High Stewardship to be held by him and his heirs as well and fully as King David granted him his High Stewardship. I further confirm the grant which King David, my grandfather, gave him, namely, of the lands of Renfrew, Paisley, Pollok, Tullok, Cathcart, Le Drep, Eglisham, Lochwinnoch and Innerwick, Inchinan, Hastenden, Legerwood, and Birchen-side, with all the pertinents of these lands, and in every burgh and regality to me belonging, one full toft, and with every toft twenty acres of land for his entertainment therein, and for giving me and my heirs for that fee farm, the service of five soldiers (' milites,' which should be more properly translated knights).

" At the castle of Roxburgh, on the feast of St John the Baptist, in the fifth year of our reign (24th June 1157), before the witnesses, Ernest, Bishop of St Andrews; Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow; John, Abbot of Kelkew (Kelso); William, Abbot of Melros; Walter, the Chamberlain; William and David, brothers of the King; Earl Gospatrick, Earl Duncan, Richard de Moreville, Gilbert de Umphraville, Robert de Brus, Randolph de Sulis, Philip de Colville, William de Somerville, Hugo Riddel, David Olifard, Walden, son of Earl Gospatric; William de Moreville, Baldwin de la Mar, Lyulph, son of Maccus."

A copy of the above charter, in Latin, is among the Harleian MS., in the British Museum, on folio 45, in the handwriting of Sir James Balfour, where it also appears (folio 44) that this had been taken from a manuscript of the handwriting of Sir John Skene, Clerk-Register of Scotland, who had copied it from the original.

Walter witnessed many charters of King David—one of a grant to Melros Abbey, passed in June 1142, at Ercheldon; one in favour of May Priory, dated at Kyngor; and also of a charter in favour of the Church at Glasgow, together with Willielmus Cuming, Cancellarius, Hugo de Morevilla, Ferg. de Galweia, Hugh Breton, and others. He also witnessed a charter of Prince Henry of Scotland, "Henricus Comes," to Holm Cultram, which must have passed after the foundation of that house in January 1150, and before the death of the Prince in May or June 1152.

There is also a charter in the Scots College at Paris of a grant by "Henricus Comes," in favour of the Church of St John of the Castle of Roxburgh, signed at Traquair, without date, which is witnessed by Walter. He was also witness to a charter by Ricardus de Moreville, Constabularius Regni Scotiæ, granted about 1170. The De Morevilles, from Burgh, in Cumberland, were very powerful in Scotland under David I., Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. They held hereditarily the office of High Constable, founded the Abbey of Dryburgh, and almost certainly that of Kilwinning, and they were also great benefactors of Melros Abbey. The male line ended in 1196 in the person of William. He died *s.p.*, and his sister, Elena, marrying Roland, Lord of Galloway, carried to her husband the high offices and large estates of the De Morevilles. Through the marriage of Robert de Brus, great-great-grandfather of King Robert the Bruce, with the heiress of Galloway and Annandale, these powerful Celtic Lords of Galloway, which then comprehended not only the Shire of Wigton and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, but also a portion of Dumfries-shire and a large part of Ayrshire, were the ancestors, on the maternal side, of the Stewart Kings.

In the charter by Malcolm IV., Walter is termed "Senescallus," and he signed himself at different times "Dapifer" and "Senescallus." Duncan Stewart says the derivation of Senescallus is from two old German words, "Senes," signifying old, principal, or chief, and "Scalc," a servant; in the Gaelic, the cognate words are "Sean" and "Sgalag,"

having the same meaning. He also derives the name of Stewart from two Saxon words, "Sti," a house, and "Ward" or "Wart," a guardian or keeper.

In Douglas's *Peerage*, we find Ducange's description of the office of Senescallus as follows :—"Senescallus (Steward), said to be derived from Sennen, a herd, and Schalc, a servant, was the first office under the crown ; he was not only chief of the household, but his power, from the confidence acquired by that station, extended to the collection and management of the revenue, to the administration of justice, and even to the chief direction in war. It being found in France a power too vast for a subject, the power was there subdivided."

Sir Henry Steuart, of Allanton, in his letter to Andrew Stuart, M.P., in refutation of some statements made by the latter in his "*Genealogy of the Stewarts*," gives the following explanation of the variety of ways in which the name has, in later days, been spelled. "I shall here," he says, "take an opportunity of accounting for the various manners in which the name of Stewart is written. Surnames, according to the best accounts, were invented by the Normans in the Twelfth Century. About the beginning of the Thirteenth, they were introduced into this island ; and Walter, the fifth Lord High Steward of Scotland, who died about A.D. 1241, was the first who settled the name of Stewart on his posterity. Being obviously derived from the office, Stewart is, beyond question, the most ancient and the most proper orthography. But different races, in process of time, have found it convenient to alter it, either in order to mark their own particular descent or to distinguish them from others of the same origin. Accordingly, we find that Stewart, Steuart, and Stuart, have been common among numbers. The long and intimate connection between Scotland and France appears to have given rise to the idea of discarding the *w* from the word, and writing Stuart instead of Stewart ; as the French, who are without the 'w' in their alphabet, first set the example. The practice, it is supposed, first originated with Sir John Stewart, of Darnley, soon after the notable campaigns which he served in France, in the



beginning of the Fifteenth Century. But it has been most generally, and most erroneously, applied to the Royal Family by historians.

Queen Mary, from a natural partiality to the French manners, also contributed to bring this innovation into fashion. But King James VI., her son, condemned the alteration from the former orthography, by introducing, in several of his charters and letters patent, clauses tending to restore the latter. The rule seems to be that when the name in general is written, it should certainly be Stewart; the office Steward, and in the case of particular families, that mode of orthography ought to be followed, which they themselves have long been in the habit of using."

Walter is said to have defeated Somerled, Thane of Argyll, and ancestor of the Macdonalds, the MacDougalls, and the various other branches of the family of the Lords of the Isles, in an attempt to ravage the Barony of Renfrew, A.D. 1164 (according to Sir James Balfour, in 1161), when Somerled's son Gillecólane was killed. Sir Robert Douglas says both Somerled and his son were killed.

In addition to his munificent gifts to the Abbey of Paisley, Walter was a benefactor to Kelso, a monastery of the Cistercian order founded by King David I., Dunfermline, founded by Malcolm III., Cupar, and Melros. To Kelso he gave lands near Roxburgh, an acre in Molle, and two parcels of land in Renfrew; to Dunfermline he gave a toft in his burgh of Renfrew, another in Innerkeithing, and on the day that King Malcolm was buried twenty-four acres lying in the bounds of the burgh. To Melrose he gave, about 1170, the lands of Edmunstune and Machline, and those of the Shiels on the north side of the river Ayr, with fishings, and one carucate of laboured land, bounded by Duveglass, Lesmahago, and Glengevel. His charter to Melros is yet in existence, and a representation of his seal attached thereto is given in the Plate on the preceding page (fig. 1). For this valuable and interesting addition to this work the authors are indebted to the courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, who permitted an impression—from which the plates in this volume have been reproduced—to be

taken from the original plate engraved for the Liber de Melros, his Grace's contribution to the Bannatyne Club. Mr Henry Laing, whose descriptions of these and subsequent seals are quoted, says:—"This is rudely executed, and much defaced, yet it is extremely interesting, as being probably the earliest seal in existence of this great family. The design is an armed knight on horseback at full speed, a lance with pennon, couched in his right hand, and a shield on his left arm. SIGILLUM WALTERI FILII ALANI DAPIFERI REG." The counterseal (fig. 1) is "equally interesting. Unfortunately, the impression is very imperfect; but it has evidently been an antique gem, in a broad setting, on which was cut the inscription, now illegible. The design seems to be a warrior with a spear in his right hand, leaning against a pillar, and with his left hand holding his horse. These seals afford a presumption that as yet the family used no coat armour." The witnesses to the charter are Alan, the grantor's son, Robert de Montegumeri, Walter Costetin, Richard Wallensis, and Adam de Newtun.

Walter married Eschina, sister of Alan, fifth Earl of Athole (in right of his wife, eldest granddaughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Athole), and daughter of Thomas de Londoniis, who had been appointed by William the Lion "Hostiarius," or Door ward, an office which became hereditary in the family, and from which they assumed the surname of Durward. Thomas was son of Malcolm de Londiniis, who received from Malcolm IV. the lands of Lundin in Forfarshire, when his brother Philip obtained from the same monarch the barony also called Lundin, near Largo, in Fife. Eschina was the widow of Henry de Molla, and brought to her second husband the baronies of Molla and Huntlaw in Teviotdale, Roxburghshire. Gordon says, in his "Monasticon," "Eschina de Londiniis, the wife of Henry of Molle, gave to Kelso a confirmatory charter in 1185, to the convent, of the church of Molle, its lands and liberties." In her charter, circa A.D. 1190, in favour of the Abbey of Kelso, the grant is made for the souls of her "lords," Walter the Steward and Henry of Molle. These estates of Molla and Hunt-

law remained in the family of Stewart for many generations, as King Robert III. erected all the lands of the Stewart of Scotland, which were either in the Baronies of Renfrew, or in Kyle Stewart in Ayrshire, as well as also their lands of Molla, Huntlaw, and Hassendean in Roxburghshire, and the lands of Orde in the shire of Peebles, into a Regality "in honorem Dei, Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, et Beato Jacobo Apostolo, et Sancto Mirino Confessori, pro salute animæ suæ, et animarum antecessorum Regum, Senescallorum Scotiæ." The chartulary of Paisley shows that Eschina granted to the prior and monks of Paisley a carucate, or one hundred acres of land, with pasturage for fifty oxen, for the welfare of the souls of the Kings of Scotland and England, Walter her husband, herself, her son Alan, and Margaret, her daughter, who died unmarried, and was buried at Paisley. Among the witnesses to this charter are her husband, "Walterus filius Alani," described as "Dominus meus," and "Alanus filius ejus."

The last grant of Walter to his church at Paisley is that of an annual payment of two chalders of meal for the support of a monk to pray for the soul of Robert de Brus, showing an early connection between the houses of Stewart and Bruce, a relation which became more close in later years. Ramsay says that towards the close of his life Walter assumed the monastic habit, and passed the evening of his days within the hallowed precincts of the Abbey of Melrose, where he died in 1177. In the Chronicle of Melros there is the following record of his death: "Anno Domini 1177 obiit Walterus, filius Alani, Dapifer Regis Scotiæ, qui fundavit Pasleto, cujus beata anima vivit in gloria," Fordun says he died in 1178, but the different periods from which, in those days, the commencement of the year was computed, often caused such discrepancies in dates. Walter was buried at Paisley, which continued to be the burying place of the Stewarts till they ascended the throne; indeed, after their accession, it was occasionally employed as their place of sepulture.

ALAN, son and heir of Walter, succeeded his father in 1177, as

High Steward of Scotland under King William the Lion, who had been crowned, on the death of his brother Malcolm, on the 24th December 1165. Alan accompanied Philip II., King of France, Richard Cœur de Lion, and David Earl of Huntingdon, in the third Crusade, against Saladin, about 1191. On his return from Palestine he led an army against rebels in the north of Scotland, under Harold, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, whose son Roderick he killed in battle with his own hand. The rebels were defeated, and the southern part of Harold's lands given to Hugh Freskin, grandson of Freskin the Fleming, and progenitor of the Dukes of Sutherland.

Alan gave the patronage of the church of Kingarf, in the isle of Bute, with the tithes of all the churches and chapels within that island, to the monastery of Paisley. To the Abbey of Melros he gave a pasturage on the west side of the river Leader, the lands of Baremor and Godeneth, as well as those of Monabroc in Strathgrief, with an annuity of five merks, which had been payable to him out of the lands of Mauchlyn by the monks of Melros; and also an annual sum from his lands of Thirlstane in Lauderdale to buy wax candles for the altar of St Mary at Melros. He gave to Cupar a toft in his burgh of Renfrew, and the liberty of a net for fishing salmon in the Clyde; and to Kelso many lands lying in his barony of Inverwick. He also granted, apparently in early life, and in confirmation of his father's previous gift, the church of Mauchline, and his lands of Mauchline, to Melros Abbey, together with the pasturage of his forests as far as the marches of Duneglas and Lesmahago, and Glengarvil. An engraving of the seal attached to this charter will be found at p. 23 (fig. 3). "It is," says Laing, "much defaced. An armed knight on horseback, a sword in his right hand, and a shield on his left arm. The inscription is indistinct, but the following may be read—' S ALAIN . FI . WATIR . L . FI . AL . SENESCHALL . RE . SCO,' which may be 'Sigillum Alain le Fitz Watir le Fitz Alain Senescalli Regis Scotiæ.'" The witnesses to this deed are Reginald de Hasting, William de Lindesei, Walter de

Constantin, Adam de Neueton. The same Alan, renouncing at a later period his claim to certain lands in Blenselei—probably Blainsli in Lauderdale—in favour of Melrose Abbey, sealed his charter with a seal, a representation of which is given at page 23 (fig. 2). It is “of a similar design, but in a much improved style of art. The remains of a fess chequé is quite apparent upon the shield, and is perhaps the earliest instance of this well-known bearing of the Stewart family—SIGILL . ALANI FILII WALTERI.” Alan also gave to the Abbey of Cambus Kenneth a full toft in the Burgh of Renfrew, and one fishing in the water of the same village.

Alan was witness to a charter by William the Lion, confirming an agreement between the Bishop of Glasgow and Robert de Brus, concerning certain churches in Annandale, signing as “Alanus Dapifer.” In the chartulary of the Bishopric of Glasgow, preserved at the Scots College at Paris, there is a convention between the Bishop of Glasgow and Roger de Vallens, as to the church of Kilbride, which was signed in presence of “His testibus, Domino Rege; Comite Patricio; Roberto Capellano; Hug. Clerico; Ric de Moreville, Const. Regis; Alano Dapifero Regis; Philippo de Vallen; Adamo filio Gilberti; Waltero de Berkely, Cam. Regis.”

Alan married Eve, daughter of Suan, the son of Thor, Lord of Tippermuir and Tranent, a person of great account at that time. Suan was a benefactor of Scone Abbey, as appears from a confirmation by Walter Stewart, his grandson; he also gave to the Abbey of Holyrood all right he had in the church of “Trevernent,” its lands, pastures, and tithes. Alan gave a donation of land to the Canons of St Andrews, for the salvation of the souls of the Kings David and Malcolm, of his father's, of his own, and of that of his wife Eve. Simson says he married a second wife, Alesta, daughter of Morgund, Earl of Mar. Alan died in 1204, and was buried before the high altar at Paisley, leaving two sons—

1. WALTER, who succeeded him.

2. DAVID, who, as appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, was one of the guarantors in 1219, that Alexander II., King of Scotland, should marry Joan, eldest daughter of John, King of England, if her hand could be obtained, and if not, that he should marry her sister Isabella. There is no record of any descendants of David, and he had escaped the notice of genealogists till he was pointed out by Sir David Dalrymple.

WALTER, designed of Dundonald in Ayrshire, succeeded his father in 1204, and was the first who took the name of Stewart as a surname, and transmitted it to his posterity; the appellation having been previously official, and confined to the holder of the office. Chalmers says the manor and parish of Dundonald belonged to Walter the first High Steward, who held the whole of the northern half of Kyle in the beginning of the reign of William the Lion; it was, however, his grandson Walter who was first styled of Dundonald. Dundonald Castle is about four miles south-west of Kilmarnock, and is most picturesquely situated on the summit of a detached and almost precipitous green "dun," or conical hill, commanding an extensive view of the Stewart lands on the north, east, and south-east, and of Cantyre and Knapdale in Argyllshire, with the islands of Bute and Arran on the north-west and west. "It must have been a place of great strength prior to the introduction of artillery. The building is not extensive, the area on which it stands being circumscribed. It bears, however, unequivocal evidence of having been one of the most magnificent strongholds of the age. Besides the massive oblong tower—at least three spacious stories in height—the remains of the court-yard and some interior structures still exist. The arch over the ground floor is in good preservation, as well as some of the outer walls, particularly the north-west, but the stair is almost entirely gone." The original castle on the Dun was, it is supposed, built by some Donald, not improbably one of the ancient Scots kings, and was in all likelihood added to, and occupied occasionally as a residence by Walter, first High Steward, after he had made over to the monks, on the foundation of the monastery about 1160, the dwelling on the rock at

Paisley where his hall was founded, "*ubi aula mea erat fundata.*" It seems, however, to have been added to more than once, for in addition to the fess chequé of the Stewarts, the lion of Scotland appears on various parts of the building. As the principal castle of the Stewarts in their extensive barony, or rather principality of Kyle Stewart, it continued their chief seat in Ayrshire for about two hundred years, though they had other smaller castles in the district which were either their occasional residences or were occupied by their vassals. Among these were, in the Lordship of Stewarton, "*Steuartetoune Castell,*" now forming part of the modern mansion of Lainshaw, described by Pont as "*a stronge old Dounijon, the ancient inheritance of the predecessors of our Scotts Kings ;*" and, in Strath-grief or Renfrewshire, the manor-place of Blackhall, to which a chapel was attached, the fortalice of Raiss, and Renfrew Castle, which will be noticed hereafter.

King Robert II., as appears from various charters, dated at Dundonald, resided there, at least occasionally, during the earlier part of his reign, and from 1388—when, enfeebled by age, and deeply affected by the death of his son-in-law James, Earl of Douglas, at the battle of Otterburn, he practically transferred the reins of government to his second son, the Earl of Fife—he lived there till his death in 1390.

"The second Robert of Scotland Kyng
As God purwaid maid endying
At Downdonald in his countrie
Of a schort sickness thare deyed he."—*Wynton.*

Robert III. also inhabited the castle for some time after his father's death, and it is asserted by several authors that he died there. It continued to be occasionally visited by the kings of Scotland until 1468, when James III. conferred it, with other extensive estates, on Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, on his marriage with his Majesty's eldest sister, the Princess Mary ; but on the fall of the family of Boyd, and the forfeiture of their estates in the following year, it returned into the possession of the Crown. In 1482, James III. granted the custody of the

castle, with the dominical lands, to Alan, first Lord Cathcart. In 1527, James V. granted a confirmatory charter of the castle and estate to William Wallace, probably a cadet of the family of Craigie, in the possession of whose descendants it remained till 1638, when it was sold to Sir William Cochrane, of Cowden, the ancestor of the Earls of Dundonald. In 1726, the estate passed, by purchase, to the Eglinton family, with whom it still continues; the castle only, with the surrounding seven or eight acres of land, remaining the property of the Cochranes.

Walter was witness to a charter by William the Lion, granted at Dumfries, but without date, to which the witnesses were—Ricardus de Moreville, Walterus filius Alani Dapifer, Walterus Olifar, Robertus de Quinci, Willielmus de Veteri Ponte. The last designation appears frequently afterwards in Scots and English charters, and was contracted as a surname into Vipont. The family had extensive possessions in Roxburghshire, and Alan de Vipont held the castle of Lochleven for King David II., after the battle of Halidonhill. The family of De Quinci was a very powerful one, both in Scotland and England, in the 12th and 13th centuries. Robert de Quinci came to Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, and got Leuchars, in Fife, by his marriage with Arabella, daughter of Nes. His grandson, Roger, who held, besides his Scottish barony, the Earldom of Winchester, in England, married Elena, eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway; and, on Alan's death in 1234, not only shared the extensive estates of his father-in-law, but also succeeded to the high office of Constable of Scotland, which had descended to the Lords of Galloway from the marriage of Alan with Elena, sister of William, the last of the De Morevilles. The office and Scots estates were forfeited during the wars of the succession.

There is a charter, with the Great Seal of Scotland attached, in the Scots College at Paris, granted by Alexander II. in favour of the Church at Glasgow, dated at Ayr, on the 8th May 1223. The first witness is "Walterus filius Alani Senescallus," and the names after his

are Walterus Olifard, Roderick Capellanus, Ingelram de Baliol, Henricus de Baliol, Henricus de Stivel, Joannis de Macaswell, Reginaldus de Crawford, Vice Comes de Ar, Walterus Bisset. The family of Bisset were at this time of importance in the districts now chiefly occupied by the Frasers, but shortly afterwards the heads of the family were outlawed on account of their share in the assassination of the young Earl of Atholl, son of Thomas of Galloway.

Walter's earliest benefaction to the Church appears to have been a grant, between 1207 and 1214, of an annual rent of three merks to the Convent of Syxle. His confirmation to Melros Abbey assures four carucates of land at Edmunstune, as granted by Walter Fitz-Alan, his grandfather. His seal, p. 23, fig. 4, bears an armed knight on horseback, a drawn sword in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield bearing "a fess chequé, SIGILL WALTERI FILII ALANI." His privy seal, p. 23, fig. 5, appended to a charter of the lands of Molle, in excambion for the lands of Freretun, to the Abbey of Melros, bears simply a fess chequé. He also, as Seneschal, attests the deed, signed at York on 18th June 1221, whereby Alexander II. of Scotland fixed the dower of the English Princess Johanna. About 1223, Walter granted a charter in favour of the Church of Glasgow, in which he describes himself as "Dapifer Regis Scotiæ," showing, as pointed out by Ducange, that Dapifer and Senescallus were names of the same office. Alexander II. granted a charter, now in the Scots College at Paris, also in favour of the Church at Glasgow, dated 8th February 1237, to which the witnesses were Walterus filius Alani, Justiciar Scotiæ, Walter Cumyn, Comes de Menteth, Walterus Olifard, Alan Hostier (Hostiarius or Doorward), Walterus Bysset, Roger Avenel, David Marscal. By this it appears that Walter had, previous to 1237, been appointed Justiciary of Scotland; and Sir Robert Douglas and Duncan Stewart say that the appointment was made at St Andrews on the 24th August 1230. In September 1237, he was one of the commissioners named by Alexander II. to swear to the observance of the peace agreed upon with Henry

III. In Winton's Chronicle, it is said that after the death of Alexander's first wife, the Princess Joan of England, Walter was sent in 1238 as ambassador to France, to negotiate a marriage for King Alexander with Mary, daughter of Ingerlam, Lord of Coucy, and that he accompanied her to Scotland. Abercromby says that Walter went with a command to Palestine, in the Sixth Crusade of 1228-40, and that after his return he defeated a rebellion raised by Thomas Mac-du-Allan in Galloway.

About this time the Pope's usurpation of the right of patronage of monasteries caused the pious benefactors of the Church to erect collegiate churches and chapelries, the patronage of which was reserved by ecclesiastical canon, to the founders and their heirs. Walter founded a religious house of this kind, of the Gilbertine order, at Dalmulin, in Kyle, about two miles east of Ayr, endowing it with various lands and tithes, among others, with the church of Dundonald and its two chapels of Richardstoun and Crossby. When the Dalmulin house was given up in 1238, Walter granted the church of Dundonald with its two chapels to the monks of Paisley, and also at the same time the church of Sanquhar, as well as that of Auchinleck, with all its pertinents. He also gave donations to the Abbays of Kelso and Balmerino, confirmed his father's charter of Mauchline, and also that of his grandfather, Suan, of lands to the Abbey of Scone. He further, according to Crawford, gave an annuity of six chalders of meal for the support of a priest of Melros, to say mass for the benefit of the soul of Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale.

The following is quoted from Nisbet's Heraldry. "Walter, High Steward in the reign of Alexander II., appended his seal to a charter confirming grants of lands upon the Water of Ayr to the monks of Melros. The seal has a man on horseback, in a coat of mail, brandishing a sword with his right hand, and on his left arm a shield with a fesse chequé of three tracts, and above his head a helmet, with a wreath also chequé. The fesse is a belt across the shield, and meant to signify a

knight's belt. The term *chequé* in heraldry is said of the field, or any other charge or figure filled up with square pieces alternately of different tinctures; which pieces Monsieur Baron will have to represent in armouries, battalions, and squadrons of soldiers, and are a fit bearing for chief commanders of armies, as those of the antient family of Stewart, who long before they ascended the throne, were commanders in chief of armies under our antient kings, and Lord High Stewards of Scotland, and were in use always to carry for their paternal ensign, or, a *fesse chequé*, azure and argent."

Duncan Stewart, quoting Sir James Balfour, says: "The *fesse cheque* was assumed by the Stewarts, perhaps because the *fesse* represents a military belt, and the *fesse cheque* represents battalions and squares of soldiers; because the Stewart of Scotland had command of the King's armies. Likewise the *fesse cheque* represents the chess-boards, which, of old, accomptants in the King's office of Exchequer did make use of in calculating their accompts. Whence, probably, the Exchequer had its name, and which office was under the High Stewart. The seal of Walter, son of Alan, Lord High Stewart, carried a *fesse cheque* very probably upon this account."

Walter married Beatrix, daughter of Gilchrist, third Earl of Angus. Noble, in his history of the Stewarts, says that the mother of Beatrix was Marjory, sister of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. Walter died in 1246, leaving issue—

1. ALEXANDER, his successor.

2. JOHN, killed at Damietta in Egypt. Noble says he accompanied his brother Alexander in the seventh Crusade, led by Saint Lewis, King of France.

3. WALTER, called Bailloch, or the freckled; designed in a charter of 1248, "*Walterus filius Walteri Senescalli*;" and in charters of 1261 and 1263, "*Walterus Senescallus, comes de Menteth*." He accompanied his brothers to the seventh Crusade in 1248, and distinguished himself at the battle of Largs in 1263. He witnessed the marriage contract of

the Princess Margaret with King Eric of Norway in 1281, and, with his Countess, accompanied the Princess to that country. In the parliament of 1283, he swore allegiance to the Maiden of Norway in the event of the death of Alexander III. In 1292 he was one of the auditors, on the part of Bruce, in the competition for the crown. Duncan Stewart says that he took part in the invasions of England in 1295 and 1296, and that having surrendered after the battle of Dunbar on honourable conditions, he was, notwithstanding, put to death in the 76th year of his age. He married the younger daughter of Mauritius, third Earl of Menteth, and in her right succeeded as fifth earl, on the death of Walter Cumyn, fourth earl, in right of his wife, the elder sister. Walter Cumyn died suddenly in 1258, and his widow somewhat precipitately married Sir John Russell, an English knight. Sir John and his wife were both imprisoned on suspicion of having poisoned her first husband, but were afterwards permitted to leave the kingdom. Sir Walter Stewart thereupon laid claim to the earldom, and obtained it by favour of the estates of the realm. His male issue failing, the title was carried by his granddaughter Mary to Sir John Graham, and by their daughter Margaret's marriage with Robert, first Duke of Albany, third son of Robert II., it passed again to the line of the Stewarts; but on the execution of Duke Murdoch in 1425, it was forfeited and vested in the Crown. Walter was a benefactor of the abbey of Kilwinning, conferring on it the patronage of the parish church of St Charmaig and chapel of St Mary in Knapdale, St Michael in Inverlussa, together with the lands in Riventos annexed to the said church. He also confirmed to the monks of Paisley the grants of Duffgall the son of Syfyn regarding the church of St Colmanel with its penny land, and the chapel near the castle of Schypinche, or Skipness.

4. WILLIAM, mentioned in some charters, of whose issue there is no account.

Also three daughters :

1. BEATRIX, married to Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, great-

grandson of Arkyll, the Saxon lord of several baronies in Yorkshire and Northumberland, who, after several insurrections against William the Conqueror, fled to Scotland, where he received from Malcolm Canmore the district in the counties of Dumbarton and Stirling called the Lennox. Her great-granddaughter, Margaret, married Walter de Faslane, who became Earl of Lennox. He is thought to have been a descendant of one of the Stewards of Scotland, and his seal, attached to a charter, certainly bore the fess chequé. In reference to the charter granted to Walter de Faslane, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, says that words cannot express more strongly the notion of those times that the possession of the "Comitatus" conferred the title of "Comes." Their granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth, married in 1392 Sir John Stewart of Dernely, a descendant of Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, and thus the title of Lennox came into that family.

2. CHRISTIAN, married to Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar. Lord Hailes calls him the most powerful baron of the southern districts of Scotland. He held the first rank among the twenty-four barons who guaranteed the treaty of peace with England in 1244. He died at the siege of Damietta in 1248.

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3. MARGARET, married to Niel de Galloway, second Earl of Carrick; by whom she had a daughter, Margaret, Countess of Carrick in her own right, who, after the death of her first husband Adam de Kilconquhar in the Holy Land at the beginning of the eighth and last Crusade, married, under well known romantic circumstances, in 1271, Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, the eldest son of the Competitor, and by him became the mother of Robert the Bruce, afterwards King of Scotland.

ALEXANDER, designed of Dundonald, eldest son of Walter, succeeded his father in 1246. He bound himself, under a penalty of 1000 merks, to serve, along with the Earl of Angus, under Louis IX. of France, for two years against the Saracens; and accordingly, as narrated by Abercromby, attended St Lewis, King of France, to the seventh

Crusade in 1248, becoming, at the death of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Dunbar, commander of the Scots contingent. In 1255 he was one of the council of Alexander III., then under age, and also one of the Regents of the kingdom. Alexander the Stewart, together with Patrick Earl of March, Malise Earl of Stratherne, Niel Earl of Carrick, Robert de Brus, and Alan Dureward (a descendant of Thomas de Londoniis), opposed the schemes of the Cumyns, Robert de Ros, and John de Baliol. When Alexander III., King of Scotland, went to England with his queen, Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England, he stipulated that, if he should die there, their child, then expected, should be intrusted to the care of Alexander the Stewart.

At the defeat of the Norwegians at Largs in 1263, the High Steward commanded the right wing of the Scots, and having routed those opposed to him, he wheeled his division, in military phrase, to the left about, and attacked the enemy in reverse, disengaging the sovereign, who was surrounded. Boece records of Alexander at Largs, "Incontinent, Alexander Stewart of Paisley came with a bachement of fresche men to the Middleward, quhair King Alexander was fechtand against King Acho with uncertain victory, and the Danes seand this Alexander cum, gaif bakkis." The Stewart was ordered to pursue the enemy to the Hebrides, which he re-annexed to the Crown. He then, according to some accounts, invaded the Isle of Man, and compelled Magnus, son of Olave, to come to Dumfries to do homage to King Alexander, and to become bound to furnish five gallies of twenty-four oars, and five of twelve oars, for the service of the Scottish king.

On the 30th November 1263, Alexander the Stewart got from King Alexander a charter of the Barony of Garlies, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which was then included in Dumfriesshire, and he afterwards conferred this barony on Sir John Stewart de Bonkyl, his second son. Alexander's seal, appended to a charter by him of lands and

pastures of Machline and Carentabel, in Kyle, to the Abbey of Melros, is, says Laing, "unfortunately but the fragment of a remarkably fine seal. The design, admirably executed, is a knight on horseback at full speed, armed with a lance couched in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield bearing the fess chequé, which seems to be repeated on the breast leather of the horse. Only the following letters of the inscription remain . . . 'NESCALLI RE' . . ." The counter-seal bore



"a fess chequé. All that remains of the inscription are the letters 'XANDRI FILII'; it is most likely the inscriptions on both seals were the same, and have been 'SIGILLUM ALEXANDRI FILII WALTERI SENESCALLI REGIS SCOTIE.'"

At Roxburgh, on the 25th July 1281, on the final agreement as to the terms of the matrimonial contract between Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., and Eric King of Norway, Alexander the Stewart was one of the great nobles who became bound for the fulfilment of the articles agreed upon by the King of Scotland. He gave many charters, chiefly confirming those of his predecessors. In particular, in 1266, in presence of King Alexander and many noble witnesses, he gave a new grant to the abbot and monks of Melros, ratifying to them the lands of which they were already possessed, and granting them many exceptions and privileges. In this charter he is designed "Alexander Senescallus Scotiae, filius Walteri Senescalli." It is recorded in the Chartulary of Paisley that he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of his patron saint, Saint James, at Compostella in Spain, the abbot and monks of Paisley assembling with great pomp to give him their blessing on his departure. Alexander married Jean, daughter and heiress of James, son

of Angus M'Rorie or M'Roderick, Lord of Bute, "of his own family," a relationship to which the attention of the reader has been above drawn. The M'Rories were descended from Roderick, son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles. He died in 1283, and was buried at Paisley, leaving issue—

1. JAMES, his successor.
2. SIR JOHN STEWART of Bonkyl, ancestor of the Stewarts of Angus, Galloway, Blantyre, Atholl, Lorn, Appin, Buchan, and others.
3. ELIZABETH, married to Sir William de Douglas, Lord of Lugton, ancestor of the Earls of Morton. Sir William was uncle of the good Sir James.

Before tracing the descent of the Stewarts of Appin from Sir John Stewart de Bonkyl, a short sketch of the history of the main line of the House to the accession of Robert Stewart to the throne of Scotland in 1371, will be given. Less than a hundred years afterwards one of the descendants of this main line, Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Albany, was grandmother of Dugall, first of Appin, by her marriage with Robert Stewart, Lord of Lorn.

JAMES, the eldest son of Alexander Stewart of Dundonald, was born in 1243, and succeeded his father in 1283. He was one of the six Regents of Scotland during Queen Margaret's absence after the death of her grandfather Alexander III; the others being Duncan, Earl of Fife; Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Constable and Justiciary of Scotland; Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews; Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow; and John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch. In that capacity he was addressed, on 14th October 1286, by the Abbot of Aberbrothoc, respecting property in that abbacy, and on the 11th November of the same year, he subscribed a remonstrance with the King of England, on the harsh conduct of the King's Escheator on the north of the Trent. His name also appears very frequently in the public documents of the period, still preserved in the Register House in Edinburgh, authorising the payment of the customary fees to various knights, and in all these he gives the confirmatory signature at the end. His name appears, on 20th September 1286, as the signatory of a bond between certain nobles of Scotland and England for mutual defence, including Patrick, Seventh Earl of Dunbar, and his sons Patrick, John, and Alexander; Walter, Earl of Menteith; Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, and Robert and Richard his sons; James, Seneschal of Scotland, and his brother John. The Chamberlain Rolls show that he was Vicecomes de Air before 1289. In that year the management of the kingdom was entrusted to him, while his colleagues went to England to treat with Edward I. and the ambassadors of the King of Norway, about the affairs of the young Queen of

Scotland. In 1294 he granted to the Monastery of Paisley the privilege of a herring-fishing in the Clyde. In 1296 he signed the Ragman Roll, a document deriving its name from Ragimunde, a papal legate in Scotland, which contains the instruments of homage and fealty to Edward I., sworn to by the nobility and clergy of Scotland; but in the year following, he and his brother John associated themselves with Wallace for the defence of the kingdom. The dissensions of the party, however, induced James, Sir Alexander de Lindsay of Crawford, and Robert de Brus, to submit to Edward I. at Ayr, James, nevertheless, sending his Brandanes, under his brother John's command, to the battle of Falkirk, on 22d July 1289. Winton writes—

“Thare Ihon Stewart a' pon fute,
Wyth hym the Brandanes thare of Bute.”

And Holinshed—“There were slain Sir John Stewart with his Brandanes, for so they name them that are taken to warre furth of the Stewartes lands.”

In 1307 the English burned a part of the monastery of Paisley. To the perpetration of this sacrilegious act against the peculiar religious foundation of the Stewarts, they were doubtless provoked by the prominent and heroic part taken by Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, and by a feeling of revenge against James, the High Stewart, who, after he had for a time yielded a compulsory obedience to Edward I., latterly became one of the most zealous and powerful supporters of Bruce in his protracted struggle for national independence.

James appears to have frequently, if not principally, resided at Renfrew Castle, which probably had been originally an old dwelling of the Kings of Scotland. It stood on a rising ground between the Cross and the Ferry in the King's Inch. “Here,” says Crawford, “the Lord High Stewart of Scotland had a castle, the chief manour of this fair barony; for this I have seen a charter granted by James, High Stewart of Scotland (grandfather to King Robert II.), to Stephen, ancestor of the family of Hall of Fulbar, the charter being given ‘*apud manerium nostrum de Renfrew*.’ This castle,” continues Crawford, “was situate upon a pretty, rising ground, called Castlehill, upon the brink of the river of Clyde; from whence there has been a very agreeable prospect of the country, many miles distant every way, and surrounded with a large and deep fossie.” Ramsay tells us that the castle continued to be one of the principal residences of the Stewarts as long as they continued in the relation of subjects. Even after Robert II. ascended the throne, he occasionally resided there, as some of his charters show. It would also appear that James IV. visited Renfrew Castle, for a deed by him bears to have been executed there.

The seal of James, fifth High Stewart, appended to a remittance in favour of the abbey of Melros of ten shillings from lands in the barony of Inverwick, is “but a mere fragment. The design is similar to the seal of his father, and it has evidently been a well

executed seal. The inscription is lost, except the letters I SE ." The counterseal bears "a fess chequé. The shield, of an elegant form, has been surrounded with beautiful tracery. The inscription is lost except the letters ESCA, but was probably the same as that on the seal of his father, except the difference of names."

He died on 16th July 1309, and was buried among his ancestors in the abbey of Paisley, to which he had confirmed, in 1294, all previous donations by his predecessors. He married Cecilia, daughter of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar, and had issue—

1. ANDREW, who predeceased his father.
2. WALTER, his successor.
3. JOHN, killed at the battle of Dundalk, 5th October 1318.
4. Sir JAMES, of Durrisddeer.

Also a daughter, EGIDIA, married to Sir Alexander de Meyners or Menzies. They got a charter from Robert I. of the lands of Durrisddeer, afterwards resigned to her brother James.

WALTER, who succeeded his father, was born in 1293. The first mention of him in history is when the Scottish army was assembled at Torwood, the day before the battle of Bannockburn, on 25th June 1314, when Walter brought up a large body of men from his extensive territories in Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and Bute. Barbour says—

"Walter, Stewart of Scotland, syne,
That then was but a beardless hyne,
Came with a rout of noble men,
That might by countenance be ken."

In the marshalling of the Scottish army, the command of the first division was given to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray; that of the second to Edward Bruce, the king's brother; that of the third to Walter, the young Stewart, though then only twenty-one years of age, and to his kinsman, Sir James Douglas; the king in person commanding the fourth division, which was in reserve.

"And syne the third battle they gave
To Walter Stewart for to lead,
And to Douglas doughty of deed,
They were cousins in near degree.—*Barbour.*

Young Walter Stewart was knighted after the battle,

"The king maid Walter Stewart knycht,
And James of Dowglas, that wes wycht,"

says Barbour. He was subsequently sent to receive, on the borders of England, Elizabeth, wife of King Robert, and their daughter, Marjory, to whom Walter was married the next year, 1315. In 1316, when King Robert went over to Ireland to aid his brother Edward, he appointed Sir Walter Stewart and Sir James Douglas governors of Scotland during his

absence. On Shrove Tuesday of that year, tradition says, the Lady Marjory was unfortunately thrown from her horse when returning from Paisley to Renfrew Castle, and her unborn son, afterwards Robert II., is said to have been extracted by the Cæsarian operation, in the process of which he got a cut in the eye, which gave him afterwards the name of King "Blear-eye." Fordun says Robert was born in the natural course, and that Marjory died two days after his birth. Dr Lees relates that a stone pillar marked the spot where Marjory fell from her horse, but that, when last seen, it formed a lintel in a farmhouse, and that the stones of the pedestal had been taken for repairing stone walls. In Gordon's *Monasticon*, it is stated that the death of Marjory Bruce was occasioned by a fall from her horse, in March 1316, while hunting at the Knock, between Paisley and the castle of Renfrew, the principal seat of her husband, Walter, the Great Steward of Scotland, and that Robert II. "was cuttut out of his mother's womb by Sir John Forrester of Elliestoun."

For the welfare of his wife's soul, Walter gave, in 1318, the patronage of the church at Largs, with the tithes thereto belonging, to the monks of Paisley. He also granted to the monks of Dryburgh the patronage of the church of Maxton, in Roxburghshire, and subsequently the church itself, with the glebe, to which he added four acres in Luncrofts.

At a convention of the Scots nobles, held at Ayr on the 26th April 1313, the succession to the Crown, in the event of Robert I. dying without male issue, was settled on Edward Bruce; but, after the death of the latter at the battle of Dundalk in 1318, another parliament met at Scone on the 3d December in that year, to make a new settlement. It was there enacted that Robert, the son of Walter Stewart and Marjory Bruce, then called John, should, failing issue of Robert I., succeed to the throne. Walter got by his marriage, in addition to his great patrimonial possessions, the lands of Bathgate, Rathoe, Riccardtoun, Barns, Brome, Bonnington, Kinalach, Gallowhill, Wermes, Ernygaith, and the rents of the Carse of Stirling. About 1320, he also got grants of the lands of Nisbet, Langnewton, Maxtoun, and Cavertoun, forfeited by Sir John de Soulis; and Eckford, Kelly, and Methven, forfeited by Sir Roger Moubray.

Sir Walter Stewart was made governor of Berwick—an appointment which he retained till his death—after it was taken by the Scots in 1318; and he distinguished himself by the signal bravery with which, in the following year, he successfully defended the town with his own kindred and vassals against a large English army, led by Edward II. in person, a brilliant sally made by Walter leading to the final raising of the siege. In 1320, he appears as a signatory of the celebrated letter to the Pope from the Scottish barons, assembled at Arbroath. Laing says that "no seal of Walter has yet been met with. There was one appended to the letter of the Scottish barons to the Pope, A.D. 1320, but it has been for a long time lost from that instrument. Could it be here inserted, it would present

(in connection with the great seals after their accession to the throne) an unbroken succession of this great family for nearly five centuries."

In 1322, in an enterprise to seize Edward II. at Byland Abbey, near Melton in Yorkshire, Sir Walter, with Douglas and Randolph at the head of five hundred horsemen, pursued the English king to the gates of York, and, in the spirit of chivalry, remained there till evening, waiting for the enemy to come forth and give battle.

"Stewart Waltre, that gret bounté
Set ay on hey chewalry
With fyve hundred in cumpany
Till Yorkis yettis the chass gan ma
And thar sum of thair men gan sla
And abade thar quhill ner the nycht
To see gif ony wald ische to fycht."—*Barbour*.

Walter died on the 9th of April 1326;

"As gude Crystyn the gat he gan."

Crawford says "at Bathcate in 1328,"—Bathgate Castle, curiously situated in the midst of a bog, being one of his chief residences—and was solemnly interred at Paisley.

"When long time they their Dule had made,
The Corps to Paisley have they had,
And there with great solemnity
And with great Dule, eirded was he."—*Barbour*.

Lord Hailes remarks, "Had he lived, he might have equalled Randolph and Douglas, but his course of glory was short."

Walter is said by Simson, and by Sir Robert Douglas, to have been three times married. First, to Alice, daughter of Sir John Erskine, of Erskine, by whom he had a daughter, Jean, who was the second wife of Hugh, fifth Earl of Ross; secondly, to Marjory Bruce, mother of Robert II.; and, thirdly, to Isabel, sister to the gallant Sir John Grahame, of Abercorn, by whom he is said to have had a son, Sir John Stewart, of Railstoun. This Sir John Stewart had a son, who died without issue, and a daughter, who was married to Sir William Graham, of Kincardine, by whom she was mother of Patrick Graham, afterwards Earl of Strathene. Walter, the High Steward, had also, by Isabel Grahame, a daughter, Egidia, who was married—first, by Papal dispensation, dated at Avignon, 11th April 1346, to her cousin, Sir James Lindsay, of Crawford; secondly, to Sir Hew Eglintoun, of Eglintoun and Ardrossan; and, thirdly, to Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, ancestor of the Earls of Morton, and had issue by all three. Her daughter, by Sir Hew Eglintoun, carried the succession to the lordships of Eglinton and Ardrossan to her husband, Sir John Montgomerie, of Eaglesham, the predecessor of the Earls of Eglinton.

ROBERT, High Steward of Scotland, born 1316, was declared heir-presumptive to the throne in 1318, but the birth of a son to King David Bruce in 1326 interrupted his prospects for a time. He had inherited from his grandfather large estates in Kintyre. He succeeded his father, Walter, when he was ten years old; and when only seventeen, fought at the battle of Halidonhill on 13th July 1333. The result of that disastrous day was to give possession of nearly the whole of the kingdom to Balliol, who declared all Robert's estates forfeited, and conferred them in the following year upon David de Strathbogie, twelfth Earl of Atholl, nephew of John Cumyn, of Badenoch; and it was at this time, as has been before mentioned, that William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, laid claim to the Stewardship, and sold it to Edward III. for 1000 merks. Robert, once the most opulent noble in Scotland, had now nothing left but his valour and enterprise. He lay concealed in Bute for some months, but, gradually collecting a body of men, he recaptured his own castle of Dunoon; and his cousin, Colin Campbell, son of Sir Neil Campbell, of Lochow, by Mary, sister of King Robert Bruce, bringing some Highlandmen to his assistance, he took possession of his paternal estates in Renfrewshire, and was the first to raise in the field the standard of Scottish independence, after the overwhelming defeat of Halidonhill. Fordun says he was there joined by William Carruthers and a band of "honest men and proved Scotsmen" from Annandale.

Fordun describes Robert in Latin, of which the following may be taken as a translation:—"He was a comely youth, tall and robust, modest, liberal, gay, and courteous; and for the sweetness of his disposition, beloved by all true hearted Scotsmen."

In the History of Dumbartonshire we find the following account of the events of 1333-4:—"In the exercise of that power with which he considered himself invested, Balliol conferred upon the Earl of Atholl the extensive possessions of Robert the Stewart of Scotland, grandson of Robert Bruce. This young baron, stript of his patrimony, and closely pursued by the enemies of his house, lay concealed on his paternal estate (the island of Bute) for about a twelvemonth, after the defeat of Halidon Hill. With a skill and determination far beyond his years (he was only 18), he organised a plan for escaping to the castle of Dumbarton. Confiding his scheme to three faithful vassals of the family named Gibson and Heriot, they brought a boat to a convenient spot on the shore late in the evening, and accompanied by a page and two staunch friends, the Stewart was conveyed to a point on the Cowall shore, where horses were in readiness to convey the party to Dumbarton. . . . Robert the Stewart did not long remain inactive in the district where he now found himself; gathering together such friends of his house as were willing to risk their lives in his cause, he, along with Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, attacked and destroyed the castle of Dunoon, and put many of its defenders to the sword. The news of this success was not long in reaching his retainers in Bute, who, mustering in great force, captured de Lyle, the English Governor, and put him to death. Bearing his head

in savage triumph along with them, the Stewart's vassals, or, as Wynton calls them, the Brandanes of Bute, soon after left the island and joined their master in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. In the same year, 1334, an assembly of the Scottish nobles was held, in which the young Stewart and the Earl of Moray were elected joint regents on behalf of David, then an exile in France."

In 1338 the Earl of Moray being prisoner in England, and Sir John Moray of Bothwell dead, Robert Stewart was acknowledged sole Regent, and gradually expelled the English from Edinburgh, and from all the towns north of the Forth.

In 1341 King David II. returned to Scotland, and assumed the government. At the battle of Durham, in 1346, Robert Stewart and Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, commanded the left wing, and brought off the remains of the Scots army from that illstarred field. Robert was elected Regent of the kingdom during King David's eleven years' imprisonment in England, under the title of "Robertus Senescallus Scotiæ locum tenens Serenissimi Principis David."

When David was ransomed in 1357, it was agreed that twenty young Scots nobles should be given as hostages, and amongst these was the eldest son of the Stewart. In 1359 the king conferred upon Robert the Earldom of Strathern.

King David II. died on the 22d February 1371, and on the 26th March 1371 his nephew, Robert Stewart, was crowned King of Scotland at Scone. At his coronation a solemn Act was passed, reciting the Act passed at Scone in the time of Robert I., and fixing the succession on his eldest son, John "Comes de Carrick et Senescallus Scotiæ." On succeeding to the throne he changed his name to Robert, a name beloved by the Scots, who considered John, from the examples of King John of England and John Baliol, a name of ill omen for a king.

The narrative will now return to Sir John Stewart de Bonkyl, second son of Alexander, High Steward of Scotland, and ancestor of the Stewarts of Appin.

Sittboot of Boukyll



SIR JOHN STEWART, who received from his father the barony of Garlies, but who was commonly designed of Bonkyl, in Berwickshire, is thus described in Nisbet's Heraldry: "Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, second son of Alexander, High Steward of Scotland, born in the year 1246. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Bonkyl of that Ilk. She bore him several sons, heads of great families of the name of Stewart, which families were known by the fess chequé, and bend and buckles, the figures which Sir John carried in right of his wife; viz., or, a fess chequé, surmounted of a bend, gules, charged with three buckles of the first for Bonkyl." A facsimile of the coat of arms of "Stewart of Bonkylle" taken from the ancient heraldic manuscript emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms in the reign of James V., A.D. 1542, is given upon the preceding page. Holinshed writes: "The said Alexander Stewart, son of Alan, had divers sons; one of whom, John, married the heiress of Bonkyl, a virgine of great beauties." Alexander de Bonekil is mentioned, on 28th November 1292, in the list of exemptions from Common Summons to Common Pleas, in the County of Northumberland and Liberty of Tynedale, together with the King of Scotland, the Abbot of Kelso, Patrick Earl of Dunbar and March, and Thomas of Clerehill.

Sir John Stewart's name appears in the bond, previously quoted at page 38, wherein the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, and other nobles, James "Senescallus Scotiæ," and John, his brother, agree to stand by each other in all questions, saving their allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This contract is dated at Turnberry in Carrick, 20th September 1286. In the competition between Bruce and Baliol for the Scottish throne in 1292, the auditors for Bruce were Walter

Earl of Menteith, Malcolm Earl of Lennox, James the High Stewart, John Stewart his brother, Alexander de Bonkyl, Thomas de Bonkyl, the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, and the Abbots of Melros and Jedworth. Of the 1600 or 1700 names in the Ragman Roll, the first is that of James, Seneschal of Scotland, and next to it is that of John Stewart his brother, followed by those of Alexander Earl of Menteth, and Alexander de Bonkyl. The seals of James the High Stewart, and of Sir John his brother, are preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster. That of James is much smaller, and in better preservation, than the seal engraved and described at page 23. It bears "a fess



chequé, the shield surrounded with tracery, SECRETO JACOBI SENESCALLI SCOTIE." That of Sir John bears "a fess chequé surmounted with a bend. s' JOHANNIS SENESCALL."

On Candlemas day 1296, John Stewart "for the health of his own soul and all his ancestors and successors, and for the health of Margaret his wife and his children, gives to Melroes and to the canons thereof" two pounds of wax to light at the tomb of St Waldare, to be paid yearly at the fairs of Roxburgh; and among the witnesses is James, Seneschal of Scotland, "brother of the granter."

When King Edward I. of England again invaded Scotland in 1298, Sir John Stewart joined Wallace previous to the battle of Falkirk on the 22d July. Lord Hailes says of the leaders: "They whose names are recorded were John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger; Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, brother to the Stewart; Sir John Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, granduncle of the young Earl of Fife."

"Ye gud Stewart yon till array is gane,

Ye field he tuk, as braw and worthy knyght,"

says Blind Harry. Sir John Stewart—who, in the absence of his elder brother James, was in command of the whole united body of the vas-

sals and military tenants of the House of Stewart—contended with Wallace and Comyn for the place of honour in the line of battle; and in the dissension which unhappily ensued upon this rivalry, Sir John and his division of 10,000 men were overwhelmed by the English. Hemmingford gives an account of his death in Latin, which may be thus translated: "Among whom was the brother of the Seneschal of Scotland, who, when giving commands to the archers from the forest of Selkirk, was accidentally thrown from his horse and slain. The archers stood around him and were overpowered, men who were of tall stature and of elegant form." The monument to Sir John Stewart at Falkirk is a plain slab, with the inscription, "Here lies a Scottish hero, Sir John Stewart, killed at the battle of Falkirk, 22 July 1298," with a cross underneath.

"Quhen Wallace saw zis nobile worthi deid,
Held up hys handys with humyll prayer prest,"

is Blind Harry's touching lament for his fall.

In an inquisition taken at Carlisle by Edward I., a jury declared that the deceased Alexander de Bonkyl had possessed the manor of Ulnedale, in Cumberland, with the pertinents of Thomas de Lucy, and that the said manor was escheated to the King, as Margaret, daughter and heir of the said Sir Alexander, residing in Scotland with the enemies of their sovereign lord, Edward, King of England.

There are many proofs in records that this Sir John Stewart married the daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander of Bonkyl, or Bonckhill, as the name was afterwards spelled, and that he was killed in 1298; but it appears that his father-in-law did not die till about 1300. Thus Sir John was not universally styled de Bonkyl by contemporary writers, but in Barbour and other authorities his son Sir Alexander Stewart was so called.

"For off Bonkle the Lord thar was,
Alysander Stewart hat he."—*Barbour*.

In another inquisition, taken at Ulnedale, a jury declared that

Alexander le Seneschal was seized as of fee of the manor of Ulunedale, and that he had departed from the fealty due by him to his sovereign Lord and King, then Edward II.

Sir John Stewart, killed at Falkirk, A.D. 1298, left by his wife Margaret a large family, upon each and all of whom, no doubt in recognition of their father's distinguished services, Robert the Bruce bestowed the most signal marks of favour, in the grant of honours and lands.

I. SIR ALEXANDER STEWART of Bonkyl. We read in the family record of the Bruces and the Comyns that "in 1308, Sir Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkyl, then in the interest of England, but afterwards the most trusty adherents of the Bruce, were taken prisoners by Sir James Douglas, who treated them with great kindness, and soon after made their peace with the king." Sir Alexander left a son, Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, created by King Robert I., in 1327, Earl of Angus on the failure of the lines of Comyn and Umfraville; and a daughter, Isabel, who married, 1st, Donald twelfth Earl of Mar, and, 2ndly, after her first husband's death at Dupplin in 1332, her cousin, John Randolph, third Earl of Moray, who fell at Durham in 1346. Sir John Stewart is designed Earl of Angus, Lord Bonkyl and Abernethy, in the charter of the lands of Blainerne which he inherited through his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Abernethy. He died in 1331, leaving, besides two daughters, one son Thomas, second Earl of Angus, who, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, had issue Thomas, third Earl of Angus, who married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Donald twelfth Earl of Mar, a marriage of which there was no issue. Consequently, upon the death of the third Earl in 1377, the estate and honours devolved upon the son of his elder sister Margaret, who had married, first, Thomas thirteenth Earl of Mar (without issue), and, secondly, William first Earl of Douglas, to whom she was third wife, and by whom she had a son George, who, as Earl William's second son, succeeded to his mother's title as fourth Earl of Angus, being the first Earl of Angus of the Douglas family. The estates of Bonkyl,—now called Bonkle, and lying in the united parishes of Reston and Bunkle, near Dunse—the Abernethy estates, and others, passed with the titles to the Douglasses. These honours were subsequently restricted to heirs-male, and are now vested in the Duke of Hamilton, the head of the family of Douglas, who, as Earl of Angus and Lord Abernethy, and representative in the male line of George fourth Earl of Angus, now quarters with his paternal coat the fesse chequé and buckles of Stewart of Bonkyl. These bearings also appear on the shield of the Duke of Buccleuch, from the marriage, about 1565, of Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch with Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of David seventh Earl of Angus.

2. SIR ALAN STEWART of Dreghorn, in Ayrshire, who got from King Robert I. a charter of the lands of "Dregerum, que fuerunt Johannis de Baliolo, Willielmi de Ferrariis, et Allani la Suce," which continued in the possession of his descendants till 1520. These lands, as also those of Perceton and Warwickhill, bestowed on Sir Alan's younger brother, Sir James, formed part of the great barony of Cunninghame, which had passed, as has been above mentioned, by the marriage of the heiress of the De Morvilles, into the possession of the Lords of Galloway, and again in the same manner into that of Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester. Two of the daughters of the latter marrying, respectively, William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, and Alan de la Zuche, brought to their husbands large possessions in Cunninghame, which were afterwards forfeited in consequence of the adherence of their possessors to the cause of Baliol. Sir Alan Stewart fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, in 1333. From him are sprung the Lords of Darnley and d'Aubigny, the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, the Earls of Galloway, and their cadets, amongst whom are the Stuarts of Castlemilk. This latter family resided at their seat of Castlemilk, in Dumfriesshire, from 1387 to 1579, when they sold that estate to John, Lord Maxwell, removing to their property at Cassiltoun in Lanarkshire, which they named Castlemilk, so as to retain their ancient designation. Sir Alan's great-grandson married Marion Stewart, heiress of Dalswinton, in Dumfriesshire, and of Garlies, now in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, but which then formed part of the county of Dumfries, and after this marriage there descended from the main line of Garlies or Galloway, the Lords of Blantyre and Blessington, and the Stewarts of Barclay, Physgill, and Castle Stewart.

Henry, Lord Darnley, eldest surviving son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, the eighth in descent from Sir Alan, married Mary Queen of Scotland, in July 1565, and their last descendant in the male line, Prince Henry Benedict Maria Clement, Cardinal York, younger brother of Prince Charles Edward, died at Rome, in June 1807, in the 83d year of his age. Charles, second surviving son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, was created Earl by King James VI., but the peerage eventually went into the family of John, Lord d'Aubigny, brother of Matthew, whose son was raised to the rank of Duke of Lennox, and on the death of the last heir-male of the family, the honours of this illustrious house reverted to King Charles II., as nearest heir-male, and His Majesty conferred them upon his natural son, Charles Lenox, whose descendant is Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Gordon. The Royal family of Stewart, the senior branch of Bonkyl, and the Houses of Darnley, d'Aubigny, and Lennox, being all extinct in the male line, the Earl of Galloway is now the representative, in the male line of descent, of the High Stewards of Scotland.

3. SIR WALTER STEWART of Dalswinton got a charter of the lands of Dalswinton from King Robert I., and of the Barony of Garlies from his nephew, John Randolph, third Earl of Moray. His great-granddaughter, Marion, was married, as above mentioned,

in 1396, to John, great-grandson of Sir Alan, carrying with her as her portion, the estates of Dalswinton and Garlies.

4. SIR JAMES STEWART of Perston and Warwickhill in Cunninghame, got a charter of these lands from King Robert I. From Sir James are descended the Stewarts, Earls of Buchan, Atholl, and Traquair, the Lords of Lorn, now represented by the Stewarts of Appin, the Stewarts of Grandtully, Rosyth, Kinnaird, etc.

5. SIR JOHN STEWART of Daldon was one of the principal persons who landed at Carrickfergus, on 25th May 1315, with Edward Bruce, when, in command of an army of 6000 men, he made his brilliant but fruitless attempt to aid the Irish of Ulster to throw off the English yoke. "And Schyr Ihone Stewart went alsua," says Barbour. He is also mentioned in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, and was killed at the battle of Halidon Hill, apparently leaving no issue.

6. SIR ROBERT STEWART of Dalduie in Lanarkshire. He, too, accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland, and was at the concluding battle of Dundalk, on 5th October 1318. According to Sir Henry Stewart, "his grandson, Sir Alan obtained the lands of Allantoun, in Lanarkshire, and from him have sprung the Steuarts of Allanton and their various descendants, viz., those of Kirkfield and Coltness, Goodtrees, Westshield, Collemie, Westbarns, Allanbank, and Mitcham, as also the Steuarts of Hartwood, Carbarns," etc.

7. SIR HUGH STEWART, who is said, in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, to have accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland, and to have died without issue.

Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl had also a daughter, Isabel, married to Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, to whom she brought the barony of Garlies as her portion. This barony was afterwards transferred by John, Earl of Moray, to his uncle, Sir Walter Stewart of Dalswinton.

SIR JAMES STEWART, fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, and ancestor of the Stewarts of Appin, had a charter from King Robert Bruce of the lands of Peristoun and Warwickhill, in the district of Cunninghame in Ayrshire. The charter is to "*dilecto et fideli Jacobo Stewart filio quondam domini Johannis Stewart terrarum Preston et Warwickhill infra baroniam de Cunningham.*" Sir James was present at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, on which occasion, says Sir D. Dalrymple, the second body of the Scots army was commanded by the youthful Steward of Scotland, under the inspection of his uncle, Sir James Stewart of Rosyth. It has, however, been elsewhere pointed out that Sir James was not his uncle, but his father's first cousin. He was killed at Halidon

Hill on 19th July 1333, with his brothers Sir Alan and Sir John Stewart. Fordun, in recounting the most distinguished persons killed at this battle, begins thus, "*Nomina nobilium occisorum ex parte Regis David sunt hæc ; tres incliti fratres vizt. Jacobus Joannes et Alanus Stewart.*" Winton, in his Chronicle, mentions, James, John, and Alan Stewart as killed at the battle of Hallidon Hill, and positively states that they were brothers. Bellenden, in his translation of Boethius, writes thus, "In the third battal was the Douglas, Governor, having with him James, John, and Alan Stewart," and in his account of the slain says, "Thir are the principal men that were slain, Archibald Douglas, Governor, John Stewart, James Stewart, and Alan Stewart."

Lord Hailes in his Annals, in a note at the end of his remarks on the battle of Hallidon Hill, points out that, "At Hallidon two Stewarts fought, the one Alan of Dreghorn, the paternal ancestor of Charles I., and the other James, his brother, the maternal ancestor of Oliver Cromwell." Oliver's mother was descended from the Stewarts of Ely. Robert Stewart, last Prior of Ely, writing his own genealogy in Queen Mary's time, claimed to be descended from Andrew, son of Alexander, High Stewart, who, he says, fought a duel with a Baliol, and having broken his sword, snatched up a club, with which he so beat his antagonist, that Baliol would have been killed if help had not been given him. Hence these Stewarts carry a knotty baton in their arms. Lord Hailes was of opinion that they came from Sir James Stewart of Perstoun, through the Rosyth family.

In the disorganisation which prevailed in Scotland after the defeat of Halidon Hill, many contemporary records were destroyed or lost, and the name of Sir James Stewart's wife has not been preserved. He left legitimate issue, three sons and one daughter.

I. SIR JOHN STEWART, designed of Perston in a charter of 1356. He had a charter in that year, from King David II., of the barony of Kelly, in Forfarshire, and a confirmation from King Robert III. of the same barony in 1384. He also occurs as a witness in a confirmatory

charter by King David II. of lands to the abbey of Kilwinning. He left one daughter, married to Sir William Douglas, designed in 1391 "Dominus de Peirston." Sir William left three daughters, all great heiresses, the eldest being married to Blair of Adamton, the second to Crawford of Thirdpart, and the youngest, whose portion consisted of Perceton and Warwick Hill, to Robert Berkeley, ancestor of the Barclays, now baronets of Perceton.

2. SIR ALAN STEWART, of Ochiltree, or Ugiltree, in Ayrshire, who, in a charter in 1377 making over the barony of Longnewton to Sir Henry Douglas, of Lugton, his relative, describes himself as "Alanus filius quondam Jacobi Stewart." He occurs again, together with his son John—with whom his line seems to have ended—in another obligation to Sir Henry Douglas, regarding the lands of Longniddry. Their seals are thus described by Laing. Sir Alan's is "Couché a fess chequé surmounted with a bend, charged with three buckles, crest on a helmet, a horse's head issuing from a coronet. Supporters, two lions sejant, gardant, coué." Of his son's, Laing says, "This a fine seal, in excellent preservation. The design is precisely the same as that on his father's seal, with the addition of a label of three points as a difference."

3. SIR ROBERT STEWART, of Schanbothy, in the county of Clackmannan, upon whose descendants the representation of the male line of Peirstoun thus devolved, and ancestor of the Stewarts of Appin.

SIR ROBERT STEWART, of Schanbothy, designed "of Innermeath," in his brother Alan's charter in 1377, to which he was a witness. Sir Robert had a charter of the lands of Schanbothy from his cousin, Thomas de Moravia, Lord of Bothwell, which was confirmed by David II. He also had a grant, dated 23d March 1362, from David II., of the lands of Motherwell and Dalzell, in Lanarkshire, which had been forfeited by Sir Robert de la Val; a charter of Innermeath, now Invermay, in Perthshire, in the same year; and also a charter of half the lands of Redcastle, in Forfarshire. The feudal or baronial residence of Redcastle, one of the oldest castellated ruins in Angus, is situated

at the influx of the river Lunan into the German Ocean, on an almost perpendicular eminence on the edge of the sea. It was built by William the Lion, and used by him as a hunting seat, and subsequently became the property of Walter de Berkeley, Chamberlain of Scotland, whose daughter married Ingelram de Baliol, Lord of Barnard Castle, the first of that name in Scotland. Redcastle passed to their eldest son, Henry, whose son, John, by his marriage with Devorgilla, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Allan, Lord of Galloway, was John de Balliol, some time king of Scotland. Redcastle was for a long time possessed by the Stewarts, Lords of Innermeath, who also held Inverkeillor and Lunan. He had likewise charters of confirmation in 1372, "Roberto Stewart de Schanbothy, militi," of the lands of Gerpets, Cragy, Castletoun, Hoggstoun, Wester Balblair, &c. In 1372 Alexander Meniers or Menzies, who had married Egidia, daughter of James, the High Steward, gave him Durrisdeer, in Dumfries-shire, for which Sir Robert had a charter. Alexander Menzies had previously resigned these lands to James Stewart, his wife's brother, but James dying without issue, they had reverted to him, and he now conferred them on his wife's cousin. In the parliament of Robert II., held at Scone 4th April 1373, he is designed "Robertus Senescallus de Innermeath." He had also a charter from Robert II., dated 8th October 1382, of the lands of Castletoun, Hogstoun, Wester Balblayne, Morehouse, and others in Forfarshire; and another, dated 1386, "Domino Roberto Stewart de Innermeath," granting him an annuity of twenty merks sterling, out of the burgh of Inverkeithing. Sir Robert's seal bore a fess chequé, within a border charged with buckles for Bonkyl, the bordure having, no doubt, been assumed as a mark of cadency. The name of his wife is not mentioned by any genealogist. He died in 1387, leaving two legitimate sons and one daughter.

1. SIR JOHN STEWART, ancestor of the Stewarts of Appin.

2. SIR ROBERT STEWART, who inherited Schanbothy from his father. He had, from his brother John, a charter of £20 sterling, payable

yearly, out of the barony of Durrisdeer, and a confirmation thereof by King Robert II., under the great seal, dated 20th April 1386. He married Janet, elder daughter and heiress or co-heiress of John de Ergadia, Lord of Lorn and chief of the family afterwards bearing the surname of MacDougall. He subsequently surrendered Lorn to his elder brother, Sir John Stewart, in exchange for Durrisdeer, by a charter dated 13th April 1388. About that year Sir Robert, together with Sir William, the Black Douglas, Lord of Niddesdale, invaded Ireland by way of retaliation upon England, took and burned the town of Carlingford, and carried off great booty. He appears in the records of the Tower of London as having had a safe conduct to proceed to London, dated 7th July 1394, perhaps on business connected with a treaty then under negotiation between Robert II. and England. He was taken prisoner at Homildon in 1401, and killed at the battle of Shrewsbury on 21st July 1403, where he and other Scots nobles had gone to assist Harry Hotspur and Owen Glendower. He was ancestor of the Stewarts of Rosyth, in Fife, and Craigiehall, in Linlithgowshire, who became extinct on the death of William, last of Rosyth, without issue, in 1694.

3. KATHARINE, married to John Bethune, of Balfour.

SIR JOHN STEWART inherited from his father, as we see from a charter of 1388, Innermeath and Durrisdeer, and subsequently exchanged Durrisdeer with his younger brother, Robert, for the lordship of Lorn. According to Sir Robert Douglas, he married, apparently about 1386, Isabel, the younger daughter of John de Ergadia, Lord of Lorn. Skene calls her co-heiress with her sister. In the "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," it is said, "Before the year 1388, Janet, the daughter and heiress of John of Lorn, appears to have carried the lands of Lorne to her husband, Sir Robert Stewart. In 1388 the lands of Lorne, Benechdirloch, Apthane, and Lesmore were resigned by Sir Robert the Stewart and Janet, his wife, and were then granted by Robert II. to John the Stewart, of Innermeath." Sir John also received

from Robert II. a confirmatory charter of the lands of Lorne, including Apthane, resigned by his brother. He had a charter, circa 1390, from Robert, Earl of Fife and Monteith, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland, of the lands of Cullyndrane, in the earldom and sheriffdom of Fife, for his good services, Sir John paying therefor three suits at the three chief courts held yearly at Cupar, with wards and releifs when they shall happen, to be held of the granter and his heirs for ever. He also occurs in a confirmatory charter by the Regent, Robert, Duke of Albany, of the barony of Hawick to William of Douglas, of Drumlanrig, dated 24th October 1407. There is also a charter dated at Innermeth, 9th March 1419, from William Heryss, lord of a part of the lands of Colcarny, to Sir John Stewart, Lord of Innermeth, for his good and faithful counsel and assistance often rendered to the granter, of his said lands of Colcarny, with their pertinents, lying within the sheriffdom of Kynross, to be held by him and his heirs of the said William and his heirs, from the king, for rendering therefor yearly the usual services.

The family of MacDougall of Lorne, to whose estates Sir John Stewart had thus succeeded, is of great antiquity. In "Keltie's Highland Clans" it is said that "Robert Bruce determined to crush the Macdougalls of Lorn for their adherence to the party of Comyn, their kinsman, and utterly defeated them at the pass of Awe. John, the eldest son, fled to England, Alister, the Lord of Lorne, being allowed to retain his possessions in vassalage to the King." A further account of the family is given hereafter.

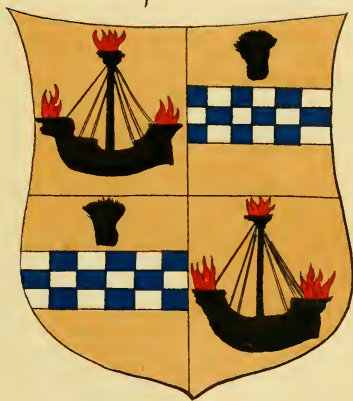
Sir John Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn now quartered the galley of the Macdougalls with his paternal coat—giving, indeed, to the feudal ensign of this great historical lordship heraldic precedence of the fess chequé of the Stewarts by assigning to it the first and fourth quarters of the shield, and dropping at the same time the bordure charged with the Bonkyll buckles, which had been assumed by his father, Sir Robert, as a mark of cadency at the time when his next elder brother, Sir Alan of Ochiltree, adopted the bend and three buckles as his differ-

ence. Sir John's son, Sir Robert of Lorn and Innermeath, on his marriage with the Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany and Earl of Buchan, charged the second and third quarters of his shield with a garb in chief, the well known feudal ensign of that ancient earldom. A facsimile of this coat, taken from the heraldic manuscript executed in 1542 by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms, and authenticated by the Scottish Privy Council in 1630, is given upon the opposite page. He soon, however, restored the fess chequé to the place of honour upon the shield, which is thus described by Nisbet, writing before Sir David Lyndsay's MS. had become public. "The antientest blazon of Stewart of Innermeath that I meet with is quarterly first and fourth, or, a fess chequé azure and argent, and in chief a garb of the second (some books of Blazons in the time of Queen Mary, in the place of a garb have a fleur de luce; and Sir James Balfour in his blazons places a buckle azure, which speaks better to the descent from Stewart of Bonkyl), second and third a galley or lymphad, with flames of fire issuing out of the top of the mast, and out of the fore and hinder parts, commonly called St Anthony's fire, for the Lordship of Lorn."

In the following generation we find Sir John Stewart, third of Lorn, as will be seen from his seal engraved at p. 46, restoring to his shield the Buckle of Bonkill in addition to the Garb of Buchan. He subsequently, however, dropped both of these cognisances, and adopted as his crest the unicorn's head, the coat being then that which is now borne by the Stewarts of Appin, and which is thus blazoned in Burke's General Armoury: "Stewart of Lorn and Innermeath: quarterly, first and fourth or, a fess chequé azure and argent (in earlier times differenced with a buckle gules, or a garb in chief) for Stewart. Second and third a lymphad, sometimes represented with St Anthony's fire at the masthead, for Lorn. Crest, a unicorn's head argent, horned or, Motto, *Quhidder will zie*."

The shield of Sir John's younger brother Walter, who, as will be

Henric Lord of Lorne





seen hereafter, became subsequently possessed of Innermeath, appears, from the Heraldic MSS. preserved at the Lyon Office, to have been at first similar to the one last described, with the unimportant difference of spelling the motto "Quhadder Vil Ze." At a later period—perhaps when he became temporarily in nominal possession of a portion of Lorn—we find, from an old book of blazons in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, containing divers achievements of arms relating to the Scottish nation, that Walter replaced the galley in the first and fourth quarters, and the fess chequé in the second and third quarters of the shield, the crest being a unicorn's head, and the motto "Whither will ye," a blazon to which the younger or Innermeath branch of the family adhered until it became extinct in 1625, with the exception that the unicorn's head was changed, forty or fifty years later, into that of a deer, and that two deer ("Fala-deer," as Nisbet calls them) were added as supporters.

Nisbet says: "The unicorn is remarkable for his strength, but more for his great and haughty mind, who would die rather than be brought into subjection, for which see Job, chapter 39. Upon these considerations, and others, the unicorn is adopted by our nation as a supporter of our sovereign ensign, and has been granted by our kings to some of their well-deserving subjects."

The motto, "Quhidder Will Zie," still borne by the Stewarts of Appin, is old Scots for "Whether will ye?" leaving peace or war to the option of the opponent, and indicating that the bearers of the motto were equally prompt for either. In the Scots of that day, "qu" is almost invariably found instead of the letter "w" at the beginning of a word, as in "quhair" for "where." The word "quhidder" itself is of somewhat rare occurrence, but an unquestionable instance of its use for whether is to be found in the poem entitled "The Pallice of Honour," written by the scholarly Gawain Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, who was born in 1474, where the line occurs—

"For quhidder I this in saul or bodie saw,"

where quhidder is distinctly synonymous with whether. A similar instance will be found of its use with this signification in the Decree against Ewen Cameron of Lochiel by the Lords of Council on 17th February 1507, referred to hereafter. "Z" also is usually found in place of "y," as in "zie" for "ye," and in "zear" for "year."

Sir John Stewart left issue—

1. ROBERT, who succeeded him.

2. ARCHIBALD, mentioned in a charter of the Lordship of Lorn, 1452.

3. SIR JAMES, called the Black Knight of Lorn. Sir James, who is described as "a handsome graceful young man," married in 1439 the Lady Joan Beaufort, eldest daughter of John Marquess of Dorset, granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and widow of King James I. Sir James was at that time closely allied with the family of Douglas, the head of which was then Lieutenant General of Scotland, and Livingstone became alarmed at the probable accession of power to that great family. Seeing that Sir James, as husband of the Queen mother, who was custodian of the King's person, might insist upon a principal share in the education of the youthful sovereign as well as in the administration of the government, Livingstone threw Sir James and his brother William into prison, at the same time confining the Lady Joan to her private apartments till she signed a deed surrendering all control over the person of the young king, and her own allowance as Queen mother. The Chronicle of Auchinleck says that "Schir Alexander Livingstoun, the Lord Kalendar, took at the castle of Striveling Schir James Stewart, the Lord of Lorne's brother, and William Stewart, and put them in pittis and bollit thaim." After his release, Sir James went abroad, and is said to have died off the coast of Flanders, leaving three sons.

(1.) JOHN, created Earl of Athole in 1457. This title had been vested in the Crown since the forfeiture and execution of Walter Stewart, second son of King Robert III., in 1437, and it was now bestowed by King James II. upon his uterine brother, Sir John Stewart of Balveny. On this peerage becoming extinct in the family of Stewart of Lorn by the death, without male heirs, in 1595, of John, fifth Earl of that line, it was conferred by James VI. upon John Stewart, sixth Lord Innermeath, who had married the widowed Countess. But the earldom again reverting to the Crown on the death, without issue, of James, second Earl of Athole of the line of Stewart of Innermeath, Charles I. granted it to William Murray, second Earl of Tullibardine, who had married the Lady Dorothea Stewart, eldest daughter of John Stewart, fifth Earl of Athole, ordering that "the dignity of the Earl of Athole, which had so long and so gloriously flourished

in the race of the Stewarts, related to him in blood, should be revived in the person and descendants of the lady who was heir of line," whose husband he created Earl of Athole. The Murrays retained the motto, "Furth Fortune and fill the Fetters," which had been adopted by Sir John, first Earl of the line of Stewart of Lorn. They were the farewell words of King James III. to his uncle the first Earl, on despatching him, in 1476, to subdue the resistance to the royal authority of the last Lord of the Isles, and conveyed the wish, "May you be fortunate, and make many prisoners." Earl John adopted the words for his motto, and put it in large letters on his castle of Balveny, taking also two savages in chains as his supporters. It is from this marriage that the Duke of Athole and the Earl of Dunmore bear the fess chequé on their arms, and a savage as one of their supporters.

- (2.) SIR JAMES STEWART, called "Hearty James;" created in 1466 Earl of Buchan, a title which, since the execution, in 1425, of Murdoch, Duke of Albany and Earl of Buchan, had remained vested in the Crown. In 1471 he was made High Chamberlain of Scotland, and in 1473 was sent as ambassador to France, on which occasion he obtained a safe conduct for passing through England. His death took place before 1500, and his male line failed on the death of his grandson John, third Earl of Buchan of the line of Stewart of Lorn. The third Earl's granddaughter, Christian Stewart (daughter of John, Master of Buchan, who predeceased his father), succeeding to the title, carried it, by her marriage in 1569, to Robert Douglas, second son of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who thus became fourth Earl in right of his wife.

The title of Earl of Traquair, dormant since 1861, was conferred in 1633 on Sir John Stuart, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, fifth in descent from James Stewart, a natural son of "Hearty James."

- (3.) ANDREW, Bishop of Moray.

4. ALEXANDER STEWART, ancestor of the Stewarts of Grandtully. Alexander Stewart of Grandtully got a grant, on 30th March 1424, from Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Galloway, "to and in favors of Alexander Stewart, his armour-bearer, son of a noble knight, Sir John Stewart of Lorn."

5. WILLIAM, who shared his brother Sir James' imprisonment by the Lord Kalendar, of whose issue there is no record.

Sir John had also three daughters—Christian, married to Sir James Dundas of Dundas; Isabel, married first to Sir William Oliphant of Aberdalgy, and secondly to Sir David Murray, designed of Gask, who founded and endowed the Collegiate Church of Tullibardine, where he and his wife were buried; and Jean, married to Sir David Bruce, third Baron of Clackmannan.

ROBERT, second Lord of Lorn and Innermeath, eldest son of Sir John Stewart, succeeded his father. He occurs in a charter of Robert II., A.D. 1439; and in another by Walter, Earl Palatine of Stratherne, to David Murray of Tullibardine, of the lands of Polgoure, within the earldom of Stratherne and sheriffdom of Perth. He was one of the commissioners appointed to treat, in 1421, for the return of James I. from England, and subsequently proceeded, in 1429, to England as one of the hostages for his ransom. In the second parliament called by the king after his return to Edinburgh in 1425, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Walter and Alexander Stewart his sons, and Duncan, Earl of Lennox, his father-in-law, were attainted of treason, and found guilty by a jury composed of twenty-one of the most eminent subjects of the realm, among whose names appears that of "Robert Stewart of Lorn." The same day upon which the sentence was pronounced, the Duke's two sons, Walter and Alexander, were beheaded, and the next day the Duke himself and Lennox lost their heads. The jury consisted of the following:—Walter, Earl of Atholl; Archibald, Earl of Douglas; Alexander, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles; Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar; William, Earl of Angus; William, Earl of Orkney; George, Earl of March; James Douglas of Balveny, Gilbert Hay of Errol, Constable of Scotland, Robert Stewart of Lorn, Sir John Montgomery of Ardrossan, Sir Thomas Sumervell of Carnwath, Sir Herbert Herris of Terregles, Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, Sir Robert Cunningham of Kilmaures, Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callender, Sir Thomas Hay of Yester, Sir William Borthwick of that ilk, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, and Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrethan.

Writing of Robert Stewart, Tytler says, "this powerful baron was in strict alliance with the house of Douglas," and he shared, in consequence, the imprisonment, in 1439, of his brothers, Sir James and William, by the faction of the Lord Kalendar. He married, before 1409, Margaret, fourth daughter of Robert, first Duke of Albany, and

great-granddaughter of Walter, sixth High Steward, by his wife Marjory, daughter of King Robert Bruce, as we find from a charter in the Rolls, dated about that year, by the Duke "Roberto Senescalco de Lorn, filio suo." By her he left issue—

1. JOHN STEWART of Lorn, his successor.

2. WALTER, subsequently of Innermeath. He married Margaret Lindsay, "daughter to the Earl of Crawford's ancestor," says Duncan Stewart, and had issue. His line became extinct, on the death, without issue, in 1625, of James, seventh Lord Innermeath, and second Earl of Athole of the line of Stewart of Innermeath, the earldom of Athole and the Innermeath estates passing to his wife's nephew, John, third Earl of Tullibardine, who surrendered the newer title for the older dignity of Athole, both earldoms, however, becoming united in 1670.

3. ALAN, who seems to have left no issue.

4. DAVID, Bishop of Moray from 1463 to 1477.

5. ROBERT, of whom no records remain.

Also two daughters, one married to John, second Lord Lindsay of the Byres; the other to Robert, eighth Lord Erskine.

JOHN, LORD OF LORN AND INNERMEATH, eldest son of Robert and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany and Earl of Buchan, succeeded his father in the great family estates in Argyll, Perth, Kinross, Forfar, Clackmannan, and Fife. He married as his first wife a lady whose name has not been recorded by genealogists, by whom he had three daughters, regarding the order of whose birth not even the families of their husbands are agreed. Crawford, writing in 1710, followed by Duncan Stewart in 1730, and by Sir Robert Douglas, gives the order thus:—1st, Isabel, married to Colin, first Earl of Argyll; 2d, Margaret, married to Sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchy; and 3rd, Marion, married to Arthur Campbell, of Ottar. Sir Bernard Burke in his "Peerage" says, "Colin, Lord Campbell, who was created Earl of Argyll, 1457, married Isabel Stewart, eldest daughter and

co-heiress of John, Lord of Lorn, and in consequence added the galley to his achievement, with the designation of Lord Lorn to his other titles." Under the head of Breadalbane, we find in Burke that Sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchy, "married, secondly, Margaret, second daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Lorn, with whom he got a third of that lordship," and quartered henceforward the galley of Lorn with his paternal achievement.

Such is the generally received version of the order of birth of the three daughters of Sir John Stewart, and of the manner in which the lordship of Lorn passed to the Argyll family. Later investigations, however, clearly prove that this account of the acquisition of Lorn is altogether incorrect, and that the statements of the respective ages of the two elder daughters, as given by the two houses of Argyll and Breadalbane, do not agree with each other.

In a curious MS., deposited in the British Museum, entitled "Miscellanies Historical, copied from a MS. which was in the possession of Archibald, Duke of Argyll, in the year 1756," we find some "information anent the pedigree of the noble and ancient house of Lochow." At page 31, it is narrated that "Colin Mulle, Bold Earl Colin, Lieutenant of the Isles, and Chancellor of Scotland to James II., brought many actions to this house, especially the lordship of Lorn, by marriage of Isabella Stewart, heretrix of Lorn, and one of the three heretrices. Glenurchy married the eldest, and the laird of the third, the earl being always superior to all. It were tedious to set down all the troubles and passages of his time, especially with the Stewarts of Innermeath, who pretended to be Lords of Lorn by tailzie. It is to be remembered that the three heretrices were daughters to John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, called John Mourach, which is to say, lipper John, who succeeded to his brother, Robert Stewart. This John married the Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross' daughter, upon whom he begat three heretrices.

"Here may be opened an ocean of discourse as to the decay of Great

Sorle, his house changed for his eldest son, Dougal, by the Stewarts of Innermeath to the Campbells, who keep it to this day, and how the M'Dougalls did keep it for ten successions—nine lawful and one bastard,—and this lipper lord was slain by the bastard M'Dougall, and how the Stewarts did kill the M'Dougall again, and in the end with how many varieties and troubles it did come to this earl, who was in the end compelled to give the Stewarts satisfaction, as the indenture between this earl and Walter, Lord Innermeath, doth bear, dated August 1469, as likewise to satisfy the two bastards of Dougald's, viz., M'Oneil, of Brue, and the Laird of Rarey, whose houses do both stand to this day."

Without pausing to remark upon the blunders and admissions of this curious statement, we turn to the account given in the family history of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane branch of the Campbell family.

In the "Black Book of Taymouth," a family history, written by Master William Bowie, family notary and pedagogue of the Breadalbane family, compiled from the Breadalbane papers in 1598, and printed in 1845, we read that "Sir Colene Campbell, eftir the deceis of his said wyffe, Jonett Stewart, eldest dochtir to *William*" (evidently a mistake for John) "Stewart, Lord of Lorne [with quhom he gatt in name of tochirgude the aughtene markland of the Bray off Lorne, hir father being then alyve. Bot eftir hir said father his deceis, the hail lordschip of Lorne falling to his thre dochteris, heretrices thair off, the said Sir Colene, be vertew of his vyff, eldest of the three, fell to the hail superioritie of the lordschip of Lorne, and first thrid thairoff, extending to tua hundredth and fyftie mark landis.] On her he begatt ane son, callit Sir Duncan Campbell, quha succeedit laird of Glenorquhay, and ane dochtir, callit Geillis Campbell, quha wes mariet on M'Cowle in Lorne." The latter was a member of a family of which we shall speak hereafter, and was a descendant of the old Macdougalls—in Gaelic, M'Coules—of Lorn. We further read in the "Black Book of Tay-

mouth," that "the said Sir Colene being tutour to his brother sone Colene Campbell (quha wes maid first Erle of Argyle), he mariet him on the secund heretrix of Lorne, and thaireftir (for the favour he bure to him, and the standing of his Hows), frelie dimittit unto him the superioritie of the hail lordschip of Lorne." Playfair, in his "British Family Antiquity," confirms this account of the ancestor of the Breadalbane family marrying the elder daughter, and his nephew, the younger, which, indeed, their relative ages make most likely; but the probability almost becomes certainty when we see the order in which the names of the daughters occur in the sasines of their shares in the inheritance of Castle Gloom and Dollar. Merely remarking at present, however, the great discrepancy between the account given in these family histories, and the generally accepted version as given by Burke, together with the important difference thereby involved as to the alleged succession to Lorn, we turn to facts established by deeds and charters, which again widely differ from both.

By a charter, now in the Breadalbane charter-chest, dated 1448, by John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, consequent on a contract of marriage between his "derest cousing and mach," Sir Colene Campbell, of Glenorquhay, and his daughter, Jonet Stewart, there was granted to Sir Colene, out of the lands of Lorn, the five merk land of Letterbean, and half a merk land between Leakansumar and the rivulet called Allmothle, with the Isle of Inchconnan, and other isles thereto attached, in Ardchattan; a penny land of Elarga and Blara, a penny land of Corelarne, a penny land of Cluchaich, a penny land of Polladowich, a penny land of Aeynyh, Lochaty-leod, with the loch Lochaty-leod, and a penny land of Drumnaschealge and Blaranedyn, in Kilmelfort, and a penny land of Finglen, in Kilninver. The lands of Letterbean, the most important of those enumerated, are on the south-east side of Ben Cruachan, on the north-west shore of Lochawe, and were consequently a very fitting dower to Sir John's daughter on her marriage with the laird of Glenorchy, to whose estates they are adjacent. Laing writes, "The seal

attached to this charter by Sir John Stewart, Lord Lorn, is in good preservation, and well executed, yet from the manner in which the charges are disposed, in outrage of all heraldic rule, a correct blazon is rendered almost impossible.



“The following description may give a correct enough idea of the seal, but certainly not of the noble coat of Stewart of Lorn:—

Quarterly first, per fesse the *base* counter compony, in chief, a buckle, the strap extending towards the dexter; second and third, a galley in full sail; fourth, per fess, the *chief* counter compony, and in base a garb. This has evidently been intended for a composed coat; the counter compony in the first and fourth quarters being meant for the fess chequé, with the buckle marking the paternal descent; the galley in the second and third quarters indicating Lorn; and the garb in base of the fourth quarter, Buchan.” The inscription on the seal is—“SIGILLUM JOH̄ STEUWARD DOMINI DE LOURN.”

The garb was the distinctive feudal cognisance of the earldom of Buchan, and was assumed by John of Lorn from his grandfather, Robert, Duke of Albany, having succeeded his brother, Alexander Stewart, the Wolf of Badenoch, in that earldom in 1394. This grant of land to Glenorchy, on his marriage, was signed at the castle of Glenorchy by Sir John Stewart in 1449.

The cousinship above referred to as existing between Sir John Stewart and Sir Colin Campbell, arose from Sir John's mother being Margaret, fourth daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany (not Murdoch, as is erroneously stated in the “Black Book of Taymouth”), while Sir Colin's mother was Margaret's elder sister, Mariota or Marjory, the Duke's second daughter.

In addition to the five and a half merk lands conveyed by the above-mentioned charter to his eldest daughter Janet and her husband,

Sir Colin Campbell, out of the estate of Lorn,—a dower certainly not in the very slightest degree approaching, as stated in the Black Book of Taymouth, to a third of that lordship, then valued at about £450 Scots,—she and each of her sisters were to receive, on their father's death, one-third of his patrimonial estate in the county of Clackmannan. These Clackmannan lands had now been in the family for four generations, but with the object of keeping the more important Lordship of Lorn, and Barony of Innermeath intact for his male heirs, Sir John determined to divide this, though the older family property, among his three daughters. With this view these lands were excluded from the new grant of Lorn and Innermeath in 1452, and were consequently, after his death, divided among his daughters as heirs portioners; and we find on 9th April 1465, Duncan Campbell, son of Sir Colin Campbell, Knight, Dame Isabel Stewart, and Marion Stewart, each seized "in all and haill the third part of the lands of Dollar and Gloum."

The third part of these lands which fell to the share of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy was resigned by him in favour of Colin, Earl of Argyll, as appears from the Inventory of the Argyll Charters; and in the Black Book of Taymouth we find "Item the said Sir Duncan excambit the third of the lands of Dollar and Acharnside, with the landis of Kilbryde beyand on the side of Lochfyne."

There is no mention of any deed conveying the part which fell to Marion Stewart, wife of Arthur Campbell of Ottar, but Argyll in some way or other acquired this part also, as there is a charter of confirmation by James IV., dated 11th May 1497, of a charter by the superior, the Bishop of Dunkeld, in which it is expressly stated that the Bishop granted to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, all the lands of Dollar and Gloom. It is possible that the worthy Master William Bowie in his zeal for the standing of the house of Breadalbane, may have confounded this renunciation of Gloom, with the alleged free demission to the Earl of Argyll

of the "superioritie of the haill Lordship of Lorn," which, as will be conclusively shown, never fell as an inheritance to the daughters of Sir John Stewart. Be this as it may, the result was to place Argyll in possession of this large estate, with its ancient castle of Gloom, afterwards and until 1664, a frequent and favourite residence of the Argylls under the name of Castle Campbell, a designation assumed under the authority of an Act of the Scots Parliament in 1489. The castle was burned down by the Macleans in the army of Montrose in 1664, when he was marching from the north to the field of Kilsyth, and the estate was sold by the Duke of Argyll in 1808.

In making the above settlements Sir John Stewart of Lorn seems to have considered that he had acquitted himself of his obligations to his female heirs and their husbands, for we find that after these grants, and a special and exceptional charter in favour of his kinsman John M'Alan, or Macdougall, called M'Coule, which will be afterwards noticed, he subsequently surrendered into the hands of James II. the Lordship of Lorn, and the baronies of Redcastle and Innermeath, for the purpose of obtaining two fresh charters more distinctly defining them, and destining them anew. Both these new charters are dated on the 20th of June 1452, and are given at length in the Appendix. In the first the King grants all and whole the Lordship of Lorn, all and whole the barony of Innermeath, lying in the sheriffdom of Perth, and all and whole the barony of Redcastle, lying in the sheriffdom of Forfar, "*dilecto consanguineo nostro Johanni, Domino de Lorn,*" and the heirs male of his body, lawfully procreated or to be procreated, whom failing to his brother Walter Stewart, and his heirs male, and failing these to his brother Alan, and his heirs male. In default of these, the charter goes on to enumerate the other male relatives to whom the estates should descend—viz., John's brothers David and Robert, his uncles Sir Archibald and Sir James Stewart, and his kinsman Thomas Stewart, and the heirs male of each in their turn, as named; and finally, failing all these, to his heirs whatsoever.

The other charter, dated the same day, is much shorter, and refers only to the Barony of Innermeath, having been drawn for the purpose of obtaining the royal authority to include with that barony, which was entailed on heirs male by the major charter, the lands of Ennerdony and Baldenys in the earldom of Stratherne and sheriffdom of Perth, also the lands of Colndrane, and of Maw in the sheriffdom of Fife, also the lands of Coltrane in the sheriffdom of Kinross, and also the lands of Kyldeny in the sheriffdom of Perth, all of which lands were incorporated with, and annexed to, the barony of Innermeath, to be held in perpetual tenure as part thereof, by John, Lord of Lorn, and his heirs, who were, as we have seen, fully enumerated in the major charter of the same date. Thus nothing could possibly be more clear than Sir John Stewart's set purpose to exclude his daughters, and their descendants, from all share in the Lordship of Lorn, the baronies of Redcastle and Innermeath, and the lands incorporated into the latter, until the failure of all the male heirs whom he could enumerate, even to the most remote degree; but we shall see how, after his death, his intentions were frustrated, and who became the possessors of the lands incorporated by royal charter into the barony of Innermeath.

We turn now to the family of Macdougall of Lorn, from whom the lands of Lorn came, and from their alliance with whom the descendants of Sir John Stewart still bear on their armorial shield the galley of Lorn. This ancient clan derives its name and descent from Dugall, the eldest son of Somerled, the powerful chief of the Western Isles. His descendant, Alexander Macdougall, chief of Lorn, married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, slain by Robert de Brus in the Dominican Church at Dumfries in 1305, and adhered faithfully to the fortunes of his wife's family. Bruce, after his defeat at Methven on 19th June 1306, retreated into the mountains of Breadalbane with less than three hundred men, and approached the borders of Argyllshire, where he was attacked and defeated by Alexander Macdougall at the head of one thousand men, at Dalree, the "king's field," in Strathfillan. It was at this

battle that the famous "Brooch of Lorn," celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in his poem of "The Lord of the Isles," was wrested from the Bruce.

In 1308, however, King Robert amply avenged his defeat, routing the Macdougalls at the Pass of Awe, and compelling Alexander to take refuge in his castle of Dunstaffnage, about twelve miles distant, which was at once besieged by the king. Barbour says—

"The king that stoute wes, stark and bauld,
Till Dunstaffynich rycht sturdily
A sege set."

Alexander soon surrendered to King Robert, and swore fealty to him; but his son, John, "rebellious as he wont to be," says Barbour, refused to submit, and fled to England. After the battle of Bannockburn, John was appointed by Edward II. to the command of an English fleet, sent to encourage the chiefs of the Western Islands to detach themselves anew from the Scottish crown. Bruce, on his return from Ireland, sailed to attack him, routed his forces, dispersed his ships, and took John himself captive. He died a prisoner in Lochleven Castle; but his son, John or Ewen, marrying Johanna, only child of the Princess Maude, daughter of David II., by her husband, Thomas Isaac or Ysac, was restored to his patrimonial possessions. This John died without male issue, but left two daughters, the elder of whom, as we have seen, carried the estate of Lorn to Sir Robert Stewart of Schanbothy, who exchanged it with his elder brother, Sir John Stewart, who had married the younger daughter. The chieftainship of the clan Macdougall passed, without the estate, to John Macdougall's brother, Alan, upon whose son, John M'Alan M'Coule or Macdougall, John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, bestowed, in 1451, the lands and castle of Dunolly, which, with other lands granted at the same time, are still held by his descendants.

Together with the lords of the Isles, the Macdougalls had always aspired to hold a position independent of the Scottish crown, and were almost continually in correspondence with England, assuming the right

to enter into treaties and conclude peace as independent princes. It was through Lorn that the Western Islanders invaded the more central parts of Scotland, and it was thus of high political importance that a dominion of such consequence, from its extent and position, should be held by sure and loyal friends of the crown. King Robert I. had suffered so much from the relentless animosity of the various branches of this family, that to diminish their power became a prominent feature of his policy, and he bequeathed it for the guidance of his successors. These considerations leave little doubt that the royal sanction had been readily accorded, in the charter by King Robert II., to the passing of the inheritance, by the marriage of the heiress, to a Stewart, who was so closely allied in blood to the king; and they may also serve to explain Sir John Stewart's care to secure the possession of the lordship to his own male heirs, and his making, with that view, provision for his daughters out of his Clackmannan estate.

The Highlanders adhered strictly to the system of hereditary succession in the male line, although that system was very different from the feudal one. The difference between the Highland law of tanistry, which determined the succession to the chiefship and the superiority of lands, and the feudal law, was that under the former the brothers succeeded before the sons, as nearer lineal descendants, by a generation, of the founder of the tribe. Bruce's claim to the throne was thus founded on tanistry, as being the son of Isabella, second daughter, while Baliol was the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. Females were altogether excluded from succession either to the chiefship or the family property, the possession of the latter being essential to support the dignity of the chief's state, and the hospitality which he was called upon to exercise. Thus the descent of Lorn to the daughters of John, of Ergadia, had been in direct violation of the law of the Gael, as it left their uncle—who was the head of the family, the chief of the clan, and its leader in the field,—without the means of supporting his position or

his power. But no doubt this had been precisely the object which the Crown had been especially desirous to effect.

Sir John Stewart of Lorn, however, seems to have felt the hardship, not to say the injustice, of permanently depriving the heir, who was also his own kinsman, of such an old and powerful family as the Macdougalls, of all the wide lands, which should have descended to him according to the customs of his race. He consequently executed, in 1451, a deed granting to John M'Alan or Macdougall, called M'Cowle, which is the Gaelic synonym for Macdougall, with remainder to his son, John Keir Macdougall, and his heirs male, the 29 merk land of the island of Carrary, the 6 merk land of Dunollych, the 8 merk land of Glensellach, the 10 merk land of Gallawnoche and of Colgyn, the 10 merk land of Melliag, and the 8 merk land of Ardnahowe, in Kilbride; the 8 merk land of Ardnahowe, and the 8 merk land of Dowanchowe, in Kilinver; also, the 8 merk land of Dowach, the 10 merk land of Melrog, the 22 merk land of Degnish, and others in Kilbrandon. He also conferred on John M'Alan and his heirs the office of baillie of all the lands in Lorn which he then had or might have; and, further, gave to John, and his son, John Keir, the onerous and very noteworthy trust of the guardianship and pupilage (*alumniam et nutrimentum*) of his heirs. John M'Allan or Macdougall was Sir John Stewart's nearest relative of the family of Macdougall, as well as the chief of the clan, and probably the Lord of Lorn desired by his munificence to his kinsman, and the trust he reposed in him, to secure his support and that of the clan Macdougall, for his youthful son, Dugald Stewart, then about six years old, whom he intended to make his heir.

These grants were made without condition, except the usual clause of rendering to the granter homage and service against all except the king; and, as baillie, of paying to him one-third part of all the rents and casualties of the lands of Lorn.

Sir John Stewart had thus replaced his kinsman, Macdougall, not only in possession of the castle of Dunolly—an ancient stronghold of

the family, and important as commanding the Sound of Mull, Loch Linnhe, and the Firth of Lorn—but had endowed him with an ample estate. The extent of the lands in Lorn thus granted to MacDougall contrasts very remarkably with the limited grant to his eldest daughter out of that lordship, and marks in a very decided manner his respect for the position of male heirs. Having completed this significant act of justice and generosity, Sir John proceeded to Edinburgh to make the further settlement of his estates on male heirs, as previously detailed. Passing now to the later years of the life of Sir John Stewart, of Lorn, we find—upon the authority of MSS. and traditions which have been handed down in the families of the Stewarts of Appin, and of the MacLarens, supported by the high authority of Brown in his “Genealogical Tree of the Family of Stewart,”—that he married, as his second wife, the daughter of Maclaren of Ardveich, by whom he had a son, Dugald.

It seems proper here to notice more particularly the well-known genealogical work above referred to, published by its author in 1797, after many years of patient investigation and deep research. Sir Henry Steuart of Allantoun, in reply to Andrew Stuart’s theory of the descent of the Stuarts of Castlemilk, calls Mr Brown “the best genealogist,” and describes his work as, “without doubt, one of the most complete and correct views of any surname ever delivered to the public.” A very high encomium was also passed upon it by the Earl of Buchan, founder of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland; and it further received, in the same year, the following approbation of the Lyon Office in Edinburgh; one of the duties of the Lyon King-at-Arms, being, in the words of Seton, “to record the genealogies of persons descended from noble and honourable lineage, when supported by proper evidence.”

“LYON OFFICE, EDINBURGH, *3d March* 1792.

“I have examined your historical and genealogical tree of the descendants of the Royal Family of Scotland with much satisfaction. There are two other trees on the same subject—one compiled by Mr

Duncan Stewart, the other by the late Sir Robert Douglas,—but I observe that yours is more complete and full than both of them put together, and, consequently more valuable.”

(Signed) “JAMES CUMYNG.”

In the compilation of Mr Brown's work, he had the advantage of access to family papers, many of which have since unfortunately disappeared. Among those examined and quoted by him, having especial reference to our subject, are the Appin, Achnacone, and Invernahyle MSS. ; and upon the authority of the information before him, he has recorded the second marriage of John, of Lorn, to the daughter of Mac-laren. The value of a family history must depend entirely upon its correctness, and it cannot for one moment be supposed that Mr Brown would have diminished the value or trustworthiness of a general history of the family of Stewart, by allowing an error of this sort to appear in his work, out of regard for the susceptibilities of any particular branch of the family. It is certain that he has not done so in the case of any of the very distinguished branches where the bar sinister really exists, for it has been recorded in every instance with unflinching impartiality, and there is no conceivable reason why he should have made any exception in the case of the family of Appin.

The existence of this son Dugald, and the intention of subsequently legitimating him, make at once apparent John of Lorn's grounds for the very remarkable, and, indeed, otherwise totally unintelligible appointment of the Macdougalls, father and son, as the guardians of his heirs, for the reason that the interests of his own daughters and brothers were plainly inimical to those of the youthful son, who was his destined heir. The appointment could not have been made with the view of protecting the interests of his daughters, for those daughters were not only absolutely the very last in remainder, but were married to husbands of whose power to protect them there could be no possible doubt. Nor could it have been made in the interests of his brothers or their children,

for those brothers were men of at least middle age, certainly requiring no guardianship in their own case, and being themselves the persons to appoint guardians for their own children, if the succession to Lorn were to devolve upon them.

We have seen that Dugald Stewart's mother was of the clan Maclaren. This clan is descended from "Labhrain," a Gaelic name pronounced like Laurin, and it is supposed to be identical with "Loarn." Loarn was one of the three sons of Erc, one of the original founders of the Dalriadic kingdom. The Maclarens were certainly in possession of Tyrie in Perthshire in 1296, and they also occupied lands in Balquidder and Stratherne, where they acquired considerable power. They suffered severely from the lawless attacks of their neighbours, the Macgregors, but maintained their position well among the neighbouring septs. No one was allowed to enter the parish church of Balquidder until the Maclarens were all seated; and in one of the many frays arising out of this pretension, the parson, himself a Maclaren, was killed. After the earldom of Stratherne was vested in the Crown as a Palatine honour in 1371, the Maclarens held their lands as "kindly tenants" of the king till 1508, when they were granted the more secure tenure of feuars, and the clan afterwards followed the banner of the Stewarts of Appin. It was one of this family who was the real hero of the story which relates the escape of the Jacobite gentleman from his captors by rolling down the Devil's Beef Tub, near Moffat, as narrated by Sir Walter Scott in "Redgauntlet." Dugald Stewart's mother was a daughter of Maclaren of Ardveich, a gentleman of position and family, as is conclusively shown by his ancestor, Laurin of Ardveich, being one of the Scottish barons who, with Conan of Balquidder and Maurice of Tyrie, were required, as heads of the clan Laurin, to sign the Ragman Roll in 1296.

Sir John Stewart of Lorn had been at the tryst of Creiff,—it being customary for chiefs to attend these trysts, where many affairs of business and politics were arranged,—and, on his return, he met in Glen

Fillan with a wedding party from Ardveich. He joined the company, and became enamoured of the daughter of the house. The lineal descendants of the Maclarens of Ardveich still reside there, and the house in which John of Lorn stayed on the occasion of his visits is still preserved with scrupulous care.

The valuable records belonging to the Appin family, which were accessible to Brown when he compiled his genealogical tree, have unfortunately disappeared, and many of the Ardveich papers were destroyed in 1645, when Alister M'Colla burned the house. The traditions of the Stewarts of Appin, and those of the Maclarens, are, however, found to be so nearly identical, that it will suffice to give those of the Maclarens, which are set down nearly in the same words as they have been related by Mr Donald Maclaren, Ardveich, the present representative of the old barons, who has found the details recorded in the papers of his family still existing.

Dugald Stewart was born in 1445; and these records say that he resided at Ardveich till 1463, when his father sent him a message directing him to come to Dunstaffnage with his mother. They set out as a bridal party, with pipes and banners, accompanied by a party of Dugald's kinsmen from Lorn, and some of his mother's friends, the Maclarens. A Gaelic bard has commemorated the departure of Dugald and his mother from Ardveich, in a poem or ballad, of which only four verses are now extant. They clearly show that the party had set out for the purpose of the marriage, and Dugald's consequent legitimation.

"An là a dhag thu taobh Loch-Eir
'S do mhathair chaomh air laimh leat fein
Bu du an curaigh calma trèun
'S bu ghrinn fuidh 'n eideadh creachain thu.

"Bha romhad bratach 's piob ri ceol
'S do chlaidheamh ruisgte dearra 'a d'dhorn
'S iad chuideach na fir shundach mhòr
Clann Labhruinn òg 's bu sqairteil iad.

"A Dhughaill oig is cairdeach thu
 Do 'n Rìgh tha againn air a chrùn
 'S na d' chuislibh tha i mireadh dluth
 'N fhuil ard rinn clinteach feachmhòr thu.
 "Bitheadh cuirm ro mhòr san Dun tha shuas
 'N uair ruigeas sibh gu suairce
 Nis guidheam slainte is sonas buan
 Do 'n bhean dhalbh nain Dhuu-Stathanis."

The following translation is by Mr Charles Stewart of Tighnduin, whose zeal and literary abilities have been of great service in the compilation of this genealogy:—

"That day you left Lochearnside with your gentle mother on your arm, you were a hero tall and powerful, and well did your mountain dress adorn you.

"Before you was a banner and a pipe playing gladly; your sword naked and gleaming in your hand; your company, the youth of clan Laurin—men tall and sprightly, and full of activity.

"Young Dugald, akin you are to him now wearing the royal crown; and in your pulses is flowing gleefully the blood which makes you of a mighty race.

"Great will be the feast in yon Dun in the west, when, with graceful courtesy, you both reach it. Now, may health and bliss never-failing attend the wife now leaving for Dunstaffnage."

Shortly before this time, John II., Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, had entered into negotiations,—which were finally concluded by a treaty in February 1462,—with Edward IV. of England, to which James, ninth and last Earl of Douglas, then exiled in England, was a party. By this treaty, the whole of Scotland was to hold of Edward IV. as superior, while that portion of it north of the Forth was to be equally divided between the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and the Earl of Douglas, the latter, in addition, to have possession of his large estates between the Forth and the English border. The Earl of Ross, desirous of strengthening his party on the eve of so great an enterprise, seems to have sought the assistance of his kinsman, Macdougall or

M'Cowle, as head of another branch of the family. The chief, however, John Keir Macdougall, to whom, with his father, John M'Alan, Sir John Stewart, had made such munificent grants, seems to have remained faithful to his allegiance to his sovereign, and to the trust reposed in him ; but a second son, Alan, supported by a number of the clan, among others, by an ambitious illegitimate kinsman and namesake, Alan, joined the conspiracy. We find in various histories—Buchanan's, Abercrombie's, and the "*Auchinleck Chronicle*," that, in 1461, "*Allan of Lorn of the Wood*," seized upon his elder brother "*Kerr*," and imprisoned him in a castle in Kerrera, with the intention of starving him to death, and succeeding to his lands ; but that "*Kerr*" was relieved by the Earl of Argyll, who defeated and captured Alan, and confined him in a dungeon, where he died.

The Earl of Ross soon after raised the standard of rebellion, and Alan M'Dougall, the illegitimate, seems to have occupied the position of leader of the disaffected in Lorn, in succession to Alan of the Wood, who had died in prison.

It had become well known that Sir John Stewart of Lorn had sent for the daughter of Ardveich, in order that their marriage might legitimate their son, as was done in the similar case of an heir of Douglas of Drumlanrig a hundred years afterwards. The possession of Lorn by a just and powerful noble like Sir John Stewart, nearly allied to the king, was no doubt a great obstacle to the plans of Alan M'Cowle and his confederates, and they could not view with complacency the probability of his being succeeded by a youth of such spirit and promise as Dugald, backed, as he would be, by his mother's clan, who had always been ardent friends of the royal house of Stewart. It was clearly unfavourable to their designs that the succession should devolve upon Dugald, instead of his uncle, Walter, who, from advancing years, or from constitutional want of his nephew's conspicuous martial energy, would have been a less formidable antagonist. The preparations for the reception of Dugald and his mother, and the cele-

bration of the marriage, would make the date of their expected arrival at Dunstaffnage no secret, and on that day Alan M'Coule or Macdougall repaired to Dunstaffnage Castle, and, according to the traditions of the Maclarens, stabbed Sir John in the castle shortly before the arrival of the joyous wedding party. The tradition of the Stewarts is that the murder was committed when Sir John was on his way from the Castle to the chapel, which is close at hand, where the marriage was to be performed. This immaterial point is the only divergence between the traditions handed down in the two families.

The murderers fled instantly after Sir John was stabbed; and Dugald would at once have pursued them had he not been restrained by the priest, who pointed out that no time was to be lost in having the marriage completed, as Lord Lorn was to all appearance mortally wounded. The rite was accordingly performed, the priest assisting the dying man to place the ring on the bride's finger, and the ceremony being so public that no doubt of its due completion was entertained in Argyllshire. Meantime, however, Alan M'Coule and his accomplices had time to effect their escape.

The MacLaren tradition records that as Dugald was going from Ardveich to Dunstaffnage with his mother and the bridal party, he was met by an aged dame, who had the gift of second sight, and who asked him, "Whither are you bound for to-day?" to which he replied, "What is that to you, old woman?" adding, "I am going to receive some little justice." To this she answered, "Well, I have something to say to you. I have had a dream that, as you have been for eighteen years known as Dugald, the illegitimate of Ardveich, so you will for twenty-eight years be known as the head of the Stewarts of Lorn." It was in 1469 that Dugald's uncle, Walter, made over to the Earl of Argyll his alleged claims to Lorn, and Dugald, till his death in 1497, was acknowledged as the head of the Stewarts of Lorn, a period of twenty-eight years.

The murder of John of Lorn seems to have taken place in 1463.

The MacLaren tradition says that it was in that year Dugald left Ardveich. In the Chronicle, "Domini Jacobi M'Gregor, Notarii Publici ac Decani Lismorensis, qui obiit circiter A.D. 1542," is the following sentence:—1463, Dec. 20.—Obitus Johannis Stewart, Domini de Lorne, apud Dunstaffinicht." In the "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," it is stated that there is preserved in the Cambridge University Library the original of an Act of the Scots Parliament, dated 1460, recommending the King to besiege Dunstaffnage Castle, for the purpose of punishing Alan M'Coule, who had slain the king's kinsman, John Lord of Lorn. This seems, however, to be a misquotation of the date, as in the Scots Acts of Parliament we find among the record of their transactions, in 1464, the following:—ITEM as tueching ye punicioun of Alane M'Coule quhilk as cruelyñ slayn John lord lorñ ye kinge cufing The lord^e think^e speidfull y^t alffoun as ye fession of ye wedd afkis ye king mowe jn propir pfone w^t his lord^e for ye jnwadig justifying and punyffing of ye faide alane and affegeing of ye castell of Dunstaffnich and y^t he be furthwith put to ye horñ of party and fyne opily put to ye kinge horne And y^t nocht w^tstanding ye lres writtⁿ of befor to ye Erle of Roſ The lorde ordanis y^t new lres be w^ttine baith be autorite of ye king and of pliament chargeing hym y^t he nothir supple support nor refett ye faide Alane in ye faide dede, vnd all ye heaft pait charge ze quiet z juri agayn ye kinge maiestetē." The original of this is also said to be in the Cambridge University Library, and is most probably the same as the MS. referred to in the "Origines Parochiales."

It is, therefore, certain that Alane M'Coule got possession of Dunstaffnage Castle, but whether in the confusion consequent on Sir John Stewart's murder, or after the battle with Dugald at Leac-a-dotha, is not known with certainty. According to Boece, the original fortress of Dunstaffnage was built by one of the Scots or Dalriadic kings, Eugenius or Ewen, and the "Stone of Destiny," Lia Fail, on which the Sovereigns of Scotland were crowned at Scone, and are still crowned in Westminster Abbey, was kept here till it was removed to

Scone by Kenneth II. The ancient building was an extensive erection of wattles and clay, the solid stone castle being, as Mr Hill Burton is of opinion, built by the Stewarts. The castle is a square of eighty-seven feet within the walls, having round towers at three of the corners, and is situated on a perpendicular mass of conglomerate rock, from sixteen to twenty feet in height, near the extremity of a low, perpendicular flat at the entrance to Loch Etive. The meaning of the name Dunstaffnage is said by some authorities to be "the fortified hill with two islands," but the true etymology seems to be "Dunsteffanach,"—*Arx Stefani*, as rendered by Boece,—or the fort of Stephen. A short distance to the westward stand the remains of the ancient Gothic Chapel, formerly surrounded by a burial ground, where repose the ashes of many an ancient Scottish king and chieftain. The chapel—the interior of which is still used as a burying place—is seventy-two feet by twenty-four feet, apparently of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and has the early English lancets, and the remains of a circular arched doorway, and of the dog tooth ornaments.

DUGALD STEWART'S succession to his estates in 1463 was, as might be expected after the commission of a murder to defeat it, not a peaceable one. Not only was the crime unpunished, but the perpetrator, with the assistance of the rebellious Islesmen, was maintaining himself in Dunstaffnage, the principal castle and seat of the owner of the heritage. Dugald was still little more than a boy in years, totally inexperienced in the ways of the world, and had consequently all the more right to expect the assistance of his uncles, and of his connections the Campbells, in having the murderer brought to justice. But no such assistance was given, and Dugald was left to his own unaided efforts until, as has been mentioned, the Scots Parliament moved, ineffectually, some months afterwards, for the punishment of the outrage. It cannot, indeed, be forgotten that Walter had just seen the long counted on inheritance of his brother apparently plucked from his grasp by the legitimization of his nephew, and that the death of Dugald might at any

time still make him his brother's undoubted successor. With this contingency in view—under the circumstances neither an improbable nor a distant one—Walter seems to have contented himself at first with a policy of inaction, taking no measures to expel the intruder from Dunstaffnage, or to advance any claims upon the inheritance. Had he advanced any such claim, upon him would have devolved the duty of driving Alan M'Coule from the stronghold of the family, and of avenging his brother's death, as in those times when the law was powerless, the right of vengeance was accounted a positive moral duty, and the nearest kinsman of the slain or injured was bound to take up the quarrel; but no such claim was advanced, nor was any attempt to avenge Sir John Stewart's murder made either by his brother Walter, or by the husbands of Sir John's daughters.

Before a year, however, had passed, and when the swords of Alan McCowle's followers had failed to remove the obstacle which stood between him and his brother's inheritance, we find Walter profiting by Dugald's reverses in the field, and his omission to take legal procedure to have himself served heir to his father, to advance his own claims, under the plea that his brother's marriage with the mother of Dugald had not been duly solemnised. Any one acquainted with the details of Scotch history at this period need not be told that with powerful court influence there could be little difficulty in effecting this. But though it was easy to prefer this claim in Edinburgh, where Argyll's influence was all powerful, and the very existence of Dugald was probably known only to few, Walter could not venture to do so in person in Lorn, where ample evidence of the marriage was then forthcoming, and consequently from Lorn Walter then, and ever after, carefully kept aloof.

In like manner had Sir John Stewart's daughters been,—as is alleged in the family histories of Lochow and Breadalbane, but which is conclusively disproved by the charter of 1452,—“the heretrices of Lorne,” it would have been the duty of the Campbells, and, indeed, not a very arduous one when the power of Argyll as Justiciary of Scot-

land is considered, to have taken measures for the recovery of their heritage from the murderer. But, as we have seen, no such steps were taken, and the duties of recovery and vengeance devolved upon Dugald as part of his inheritance; for it does not appear that any action followed upon the recommendation of Parliament, nine months later, that the king's forces should avenge the murder of the "king's Cusyng." It was probably inconsistent with the plans of others that any steps should be taken on this minute.

The attitude of the Campbells is perhaps not difficult of explanation when read by the light of subsequent events. It seems to furnish a striking illustration of their policy, so forcibly described by Skene in his *History of the Highlanders*. In 1427 Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow had succeeded in placing himself at the head of the family, and in supplanting Campbell of Strachur, whose claims to that position had been acknowledged in a Royal Charter by King David II. "After this period the rise of the Argyll family to power and influence was rapid, and the encroachments which had commenced with the branches of their own clan, soon involved most of the clans in the neighbourhood. Their history is most remarkable, from their extraordinary progress from a station of comparative inferiority to one of unusual eminence, as well as from the constant and steady adherence of all the barons of that house to the same deep system of designing policy, by which they attained their greatness. It consisted principally of the details of a policy characterised by cunning and perfidy, though deep and far sighted, and which obtained its usual success in the acquisition of great temporal grandeur and power." A proof of their adherence to this policy was given in 1531, when the Earl of Argyll was disgraced and imprisoned for his own and his father's sins in encouraging the disorders in the islands so as to profit by them.

Sir John Stewart himself seems to have foreseen their antagonism to his youthful son by his appointment of John McCowle as his guardian.

Whatever may have been the reasons for the inaction of Walter and the Campbells, it was undoubtedly left to Dugald to avenge his father's murder, and for this purpose he at once ordered a muster of the followers of his family in Lorn, while he hastened in person to Strathearn and Balquidder to raise the whole clan of the Maclarens.

The odds against him were indeed heavy, for he was opposed not only by open foes in the field, consisting of a numerous section of the Macdougalls,—who, with their followers, were still a powerful clan in Lorn,—backed by the Earl of Ross, but by secret enemies as powerful, and, in reality, still more dangerous. Personally entirely unknown in Lorn, Dugald's claims to the succession had no recommendation save that of their inherent justice. This, however, was unhesitatingly acknowledged by the clan, and was sufficient to secure him universal support from the retainers of his family; and, sustained by the consciousness that “thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just,” Dugald at once took the field, marching, himself, with the Maclarens through Glendochart and Strathfillan to Leac-a-dotha, on the skirts of Bendoran, at the head of Loch Awe, having been joined by his father's retainers and followers from Lorn, whose route had lain through Glencoe and the Black Mount. He would thus, within ten days of his father's death, have finally crushed Alane Macdougall and his adherents, had not the latter been reinforced by the MacFarlanes from Loch Lomond.

The traditions of the Stewarts and Maclarens combine to relate that this assistance was rendered at the instance of the Campbells; but whether this be true or not, it is certain that the MacFarlanes were at this time closely allied with the Campbells. Duncan MacFarlane, the sixth chief, had married Christian, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, aunt of Glenorchy, and grand-aunt of Argyll; and from their dwelling inland on the banks of Loch Lomond, and their connection at that time with the family of Dernely, they were not likely to have any share in the rebellion of the Earl of Ross. The MacFarlanes, arriving from Lochlomondside, joined the Macdougalls near Dalmally, whence they

marched northwards through the glen leading to the Bridge of Orchy, near Leac-a-dotha. A battle ensued in which Dugald was worsted. The engagement must have been a bloody one, more than one hundred and thirty of the Maclarens having been killed, while among the Stewarts it is said there were no less than fifty slain, whose widows bore posthumous sons. On the side of their opponents a son of Alane M'Cowle fell, and the losses of that clan were so great that they were never subsequently so numerous in Argyllshire. The chief of the MacFarlanes was also killed, under circumstances which show the relentless nature of the conflict which had been waged, and prove that the sentiments of chivalry had not as yet influenced the contests in the Highlands. A wounded Maclaren had asked the MacFarlane to give him in his shoe a drink from a well close at hand, and as the chief was stooping down to fill the shoe, the wounded man drew his bow and sent an arrow through his back. MacFarlane put his hand behind him to feel for the arrow, when the dying Maclaren, exulting in the penetration of his shaft, called out, "Search in front of you, and you will find it."

After this bloody battle, Dugald retreated with the remainder of his forces behind Loch Etive into Upper Lorn or Appin ; and though apparently he was unable to invade Middle Lorn in force, and risk another pitched battle, he continued unflinchingly and successfully to maintain his right of possession until the compromise in 1649, the particulars of which will hereafter appear.

Meanwhile his uncle, Walter, had not ventured to take any steps in Argyllshire towards assuming possession of that magnificent heritage of Lorn, to which he had so tardily laid claim in Edinburgh. Walter had no doubt been looked upon in the capital for years as heir presumptive to his brother's titles and estates, and as the knowledge of his brother's marriage was probably confined to the district of Argyll, there was no one to prevent his assuming the title, though it is certain he could not, and did not, until the surrender by Dugald five years afterwards, take sasine of Lorn. Those retainers of the family of Stewart

who still remained in Lorn, had become indignant at the ungenerous part which Walter had so long been playing towards his youthful kinsman, the head of his family, and at his subserviency to the Campbells, to whom they alleged their rights were being sacrificed; and they now made the exodus known in Lorn as the "Inveich mor," or "great flitting," from the southern portion of Lorn to Upper Lorn, or Appin, following the fortunes of Dugald as chief of the clan. Thus reinforced, Dugald, the Maclarens again aiding him, was able to defeat decisively an attack, very probably the result of the "Inveich Mor," made upon him by the whole strength of his enemies in the hope of at last driving him out of Lorn. The battle, called the battle of Stalc, took place opposite to Castle Stalcaire, on the green hillside near where the village of Portnacroish now stands. Castle Stalcaire, an old hunting-seat of the lords of Lorn, and, occupying an insular position—then considered a strong one,—was probably Dugald's chief stronghold in Upper Lorn. In the battle, Alane Macdougall, the murderer of Sir John Stewart of Lorn, and the leader of the insurrection amongst the Macdougalls, was killed.

Dugald having now avenged his father's death, and being, for the first time after five years' strife, victorious in a general engagement, directed his attention to the consolidation of that hold on his inheritance which he had never relaxed.

From the circumstances of his early life in the seclusion of Ardveich, he was probably too ignorant of forms of law to know that anything more than his sword was necessary to give him possession of his father's land, which it would seem to him became his property as simply as his father's horse or his armour; and since his succession he had been too busily engaged in seeking the customary, and what was held the sacred duty of vengeance for his father's death, and in maintaining himself in that upper district of Lorn, beyond which he was in the middle of enemies seeking his life, to have had either leisure or opportunity for other considerations. To whom could he now turn for

help? James III. was a minor, and it seemed in vain to look to him, at whose distracted court Argyll, from his high office and great abilities, had almost unbounded influence, for that aid and countenance, afterwards so freely given by succeeding sovereigns to his sons, Duncan and Alan. The Crown indeed was hardly able at that time to maintain its own rights, or enforce its own laws in districts much less remote than Lorn, which in fact was under no law. Till 1503, when they were attached to "the Courts of Justice-airs" to be held at Perth, the "inhabitants of Dowart, Glentewart, and the Lordship of Lorn" could not be called upon to attend any courts of justice, and each chief ruled despotically, and without responsibility to any external law, within his own heritable jurisdiction. Being thus hopeless of obtaining assistance from the Crown against his open or secret enemies, the chief at length became aware that it was in vain for him to attempt to regain and keep permanent possession of the whole lands of Lorn in the face of such powerful adversaries. It was then, and not till then, that he entertained the thought, or probably the proposal, of a compromise by which he should retain Appin, the northern portion of Lorn, which he had so long and so gallantly defended, making over the remainder of the estates to his uncle Walter. In consequence of this surrender by Dugald, Walter, who had never dared to show his face in Lorn, was now, in 1469, able formally to enter upon the southern portion of the lordship, and upon the barony of Innermeath.

It was therefore more than five years after his brother's death, and after a compromise which the force of circumstances and the death of so many of his friends in battle, had compelled his nephew to make, that Walter Stewart was able, in the face of his brother's deed of 1452, bequeathing Lorn and Innermeath to the heirs male of his body, to enter to these baronies. The compromise must have been completed in the summer or autumn of 1469, as on the 30th November of that year Walter entered into an agreement with the Earl of Argyll, and the following day gave the Earl a bond that he would enter upon Lorn for the

purpose of resigning it in the Earl's favour, under a penalty of 6000 merks Scots. On the 28th March 1470, more than six years after his brother's death, Walter at last took seisin "be yerde and stane" by his procurator, from Alan Stewart, Sheriff of Perth, of the lands of Lorn. On the 13th April 1470, Walter gave a bond to the Earl of Argyll that he would not dispute the resignation of Lorn at any future period, under a penalty of 6000 merks Scots, and on the following day he resigned the lands and lordship into the hands of King James III., who three days afterwards, on the 17th April 1470, granted them to the Earl of Argyll. Thus the Earl fortified the deed of resignation in his favour by all the formalities that bonds could give him, and indeed by precautions somewhat unusual. This notable attention to every form of business contrasts very strongly with the delay of more than six years in Walter's going through the formality of being seized in what he now claimed as inheriting from his brother, and gives strong evidence that, previous to this time, an insurmountable obstacle had stood in the way, and that it had been removed by the compromise with Sir John Stewart's only son, Dugald. This delay is the stronger evidence that Sir John's disposition of his property was known in Edinburgh, as it appears that his two surviving daughters, and Campbell of Glenorchy, as heir of Margaret the eldest, took sasine of their portions, the lands of Dollar and Gloum, little more than a year after their father's death. Their rights to these estates were unquestioned, as they were not included in the entail upon male heirs of 1452, and they had either been settled on them at their marriage or purposely excluded from that entail with this view. When we notice the praiseworthy attention to business evinced in thus promptly taking sasine of the lands in Clackmannan, we may dismiss without further criticism the statements of Maister William Bowie, and the equally inventive historian of the House of Argyll, that Sir John Stewart's three daughters were "heretrices of Lorn."

That the contents, as well as the incontrovertibility of the charter

of 1452, were as well known to Walter Stewart as to the Campbells, may be unhesitatingly inferred from the fact that Walter was unable to take sasine of Lorn until after Dugald's surrender in 1469.

Walter seems to have been a weak man, and in that year Colin, Earl of Argyll, who was able, active, and ambitious, saw his opportunity in the exhaustion of Dugald and the Macdougalls, and in the feeble character of Walter, to acquire possession of the coveted province of Lorn, and of the great opportunity in the power of its possessor to exercise influence on the islanders, an opportunity which in after years was not neglected.

The earl, therefore, induced Walter to enter upon an agreement by which the latter retained or obtained possession of the barony of Innermeath, situated in a comparatively peaceful district, while the possession of the lordship of Lorn made Argyll the most powerful chieftain in the West Highlands, and enabled him,—though but a cadet of the family, and, as the Black Book of Taymouth informs us, the descendant of “Duncan Campbell, commonly callit Duncan *in Aa*,”—effectually to gratify his ambition by eclipsing his chief, Campbell of Strachur, and by appearing before the world as the head of the Campbells.

It was only decent to make an enumeration of the lands given in exchange for this great lordship, and accordingly we find Innerdonyng, Baldonyng, Kildonyng, Colindrane, Maw, Colcarney, Balnaguone, Laidoth, Laithers, and Rothybrisanne, named as the equivalent given by Argyll. With the exception of the four last named, however, all these lands were enumerated in the charter of 1452, as being incorporated by royal authority into the barony of Innermeath, and by the charter of the same date, John Stewart of Lorn had destined that barony, together with Lorn, to his heirs-male exclusively. They could not, therefore, have been Argyll's to give, and their mention can only be taken as a colourable pretext. The agreement of 1469 then goes on to stipulate that Walter should enter upon the lands of Lorn for the purpose of resigning them to the Earl, an arrangement which could be easily

carried out through Argyll's great influence at the court of the youthful James III.

But we can hardly suppose that even Walter's weakness would have led him to surrender this princely inheritance, had he for one moment believed that he would be permitted to take possession of Lorn, where the facts of Dugald's legitimation were known, and where he had met with such universal and effectual support from the friends and retainers of the family, who had recognised him as their chief. Walter, therefore, had probably little real choice in the matter, and was, perhaps, too glad to surrender a title and an estate which he well knew he could never retain in peace.

Dugald, on the other hand, brought up in a remote glen in Strathearn, was, as was almost inevitable from the circumstances of his birth, ignorant of the forms of procedure necessary for establishing his rights. Exhausted by five years of strife, and with Argyll's overwhelming forces in the background, he, too, probably found that he could do no better than compromise his right to the whole of Lorn for the district of Appin or Upper Lorn.

His tenure of these lands, independently of his possession of them, requires especial notice. If Walter and Argyll had not been aware of the justice of his claims, it is inconceivable that he should have been permitted to retain, *blench of the Crown*, so large a territory as Appin, one so easily defensible, and when in the possession of an enemy, from its situation, so dangerous to Lorn. Indeed, Argyll endeavoured to avert this danger by giving his kinsman of Glenorchy a strip of land between Dugald's possessions and his own portion of Lorn. This however, as will be seen, Glenorchy was afterwards compelled by James IV. to surrender to Dugald's son. Had Dugald's claim been unfounded, any land that might have been given him—and it is not at all likely that he would, under these circumstances, have got any territory whatever—would have been held by him from Walter, and then from Argyll, as his superior. But as a Crown vassal he held a widely

different position, for besides being then—as was each of his successors afterwards,—the universally recognised head of the Stewarts of Lorn, he was a baron of parliament, acknowledging no superior save the king, and exercising unchallenged jurisdiction within the limits of his own barony.

To ensure the acquiescence and support of his powerful kinsman of Glenorchy, Argyll gave him a large district of Lorn in exchange for his mother, Jonet Stewart's dowry of the third part of the lands of Dollar, which were of less value, and were situated far from Glenorchy's paternal domain, while those he received in Lorn were adjacent to his own strong and recently-built castle of Kilchurn. Having now acquired possession of Lorn,—excepting the district of Appin held "in heritage" by Dugald Stewart,—and of two-thirds of Dollar and Gloum, Argyll got from the Bishop of Dunkeld, the superior of Dollar, a charter dated 31st January 1493-4, which was confirmed by James IV. at Stirling, on 11th May 1497, of the remaining third part of these lands which had been the portion of his wife's younger sister Marion, the wife of Arthur Campbell of Ottar. These, doubtless, are the "many actions" which the family chronicler of the Argylls says that the first earl brought to his house, and were not unworthy of the policy which that family has always steadily pursued, and which Mr Bowie enforces in the family maxim, "Conquer, or keep things conquest." The term conquer is used by Mr Bowie in its old legal signification of "acquire."

If any doubt existed as to the real nature of these complicated transactions, it would be removed by the admissions of the author of the MSS. in the British Museum, who confesses that Argyll was "in end compelled to give the Stewarts satisfaction," as well as "likeways to satisfy" the Macdougalls, M'Oneil of Brue, and the Laird of Reray. This final clause of the sentence apparently implies a more serious charge against Argyll, into which it is beyond the province of this work to enter. It would seem, however, that the Macdougalls were not allowed to retain all the "satisfaction" they received, as we find, in

1478, Alan Sorlesone M'Cowle suing the Earl for warrandice of the lands of Lerage and Wouchkouch, in terms of the Earl's charter, as Duncan and Dugall Campbell claimed a lease thereof, and, as might be expected, a "kinless loon," like Alane M'Coule, was defeated. Neither does the Earl seem to have recognised the right of the head of the Macdougalls to the office of Bailie of Lorn, with the lucrative and honourable privileges attached to it, which had been conferred by Sir John Stewart of Lorn. Argyll was unquestionably indebted for his acquisition of Lorn, to the fact that he had to deal with two antagonists—one of whom played into his hand. His own claim was of course completely barred by the charter of 1452, while the circumstances of Sir John of Lorn's second marriage, followed by his death before further steps could be taken to make his son Dugald's legitimation more widely known, gave Walter Stewart the opportunity of advancing a claim. These pretensions had not been put forward at Sir John Stewart's death, when it had been left to Dugald to avenge his father's murder, and they only seem to have been advanced after his failure to eject the intruders from Lorn south of Loch Etive, and when it became evident he was too ignorant, and too inexperienced in the ways of the world, to be aware of the necessity of taking legal steps to secure his inheritance.

Dugald's enforced compromise at once placed his uncle Walter, as next in remainder, in a position to enter upon the southern portion of Lorn, and the barony of Innermeath. Crawford says, and Duncan Stewart repeats, though expressly only on the authority of Crawford, that at this time Dugald entered into an agreement with his sisters, and that the deed was preserved in the Argyll charter chest. We have only Crawford's authority for this statement, and it is certain that neither in the "*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*," the author of which had access to the Argyll archives, nor in the "*Reports on the Argyll Papers*," by Mr W. Fraser, which are printed in the Fourth and Sixth Reports to the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., is there any reference to such an agreement, though they contain many of infinitely less importance. It is there-

fore probable that the agreement mentioned by Crawford was Walter Stewart's subsequent agreement with Argyll.

The part of Lorn which Dugald retained formed a portion of the lordship resigned by Robert Stewart, husband of Jonet, heiress of Lorn, in favour of his brother John, and Dugald could have no claim to hold it *blench of the king*, except by the same right by which he claimed the whole of Lorn. Appin had formerly belonged to the great Columban monastery of Lismore, and the name of Abthania, or abbey lands, was corrupted into Aphane, when it was resigned by Robert Stewart, and then into Appine or Apine, and finally into Appin.

Immediately after Walter was seized in the southern portion of Lorn on the 21st March 1469, the division of the estates took place, Walter retaining Innermeath, and making over Lorn to Argyll, who gave Campbell of Glenorchy his share, though, so far as we can discover, Campbell of Ottar got no part of the lands. Crawford calls this an "exchange" by Walter of Lorn for Innermeath, but, as has already been made abundantly clear by the charter of 1452, Innermeath and Lorn were destined to the same male heir, whoever he might be. The indenture of 30th November 1469, enumerating the lands given in exchange, only names four—Balnaguone, Laidloith, Rothiebrishbane, and Laithers, which were not incorporated into the barony of Innermeath by the minor charter of 1452; and to speak of giving such a paltry equivalent as these "in exchange" for the lordship of Lorn, for centuries an independent principality, and one of the noblest heritages in Britain, is to state a proposition which is absolutely ridiculous.

The other lands mentioned as given in this pretended exchange—Baldonyng, Innerdonyng, and Kildonyng in the sheriffdom of Perth, Colindrane and Maw in Fife, and Calcarny in Kinross were all mentioned in the charter of 1452 as being incorporated into the barony of Innermeath. Had Lady Campbell of Glenorchy, or her younger sister the Countess of Argyll, inherited from their father the whole or a third part of the lordship of Innermeath, a barony not only important

in itself, but so largely augmented by the incorporation of these lands, and the historical barony of Redcastle in Forfarshire, and thus being heretrices of estates of infinitely greater value and extent than the Clackmannanshire lands, there can be no doubt whatever that Lady Campbell's son Duncan, and "Dame Isabell Stewart," would have been seized in their rich inheritance in April 1465, when they received sasine of the lands of Castle Gloum and Dollar, the record of which has been so carefully preserved. But as it appears that neither the Argyll Charter Chest nor the Taymouth Register contains any such documents, while the records of the small grants of land in Argyllshire on the marriage of the eldest daughter, and the sasines of their real inheritance in Clackmannan, have been so carefully kept, the conclusion is inevitable that the whole transactions were simply the division of the spoils of a lad, spirited and gallant enough, but nearly friendless, and ignorant of the ways of the world. It is a significant circumstance, and one which can hardly be the result of accident, that neither in the family of Appin nor even among his own immediate descendants of Innermeath does the name of Walter, so long dear as that of their most renowned ancestors in Scotland, ever once thereafter appear.

On the 1st December 1469, Walter, "Lord Lorn," granted to the Earl of Argyll the bond that he would immediately enter upon Lorn, and thereafter resign the title and the lands for a new grant to the Earl, who in turn obliged himself to obtain from the King for Walter the title of Lord Innermeath, with precedence over that of Lorn; giving a striking proof of the weakness of the Crown, when one subject could thus undertake to procure a title of honour for another. In fact it is probable that the Earl, from his influential position as Justiciar of Scotland, had been able to secure in advance the sanction of the youthful King to this evidently long-planned arrangement, for we find a bond on the 13th April 1470, by Walter Stewart, "Lord Innermeath," never to dispute the preceding resignation under a penalty of 6000 merks—and on the next day Walter completed the resignation of the lands and title to

the King, who three days after granted them to the Earl of Argyll, to be held *blench of the King* on the rendering of a mantle at Whitsunday, if required.

The Earl then proceeded to apportion to his kinsman of Glenorchy his share of the acquired lands, making over to him one-third of Lorn, which included a third of Lismore and a belt of land in Appin lying on the north shore of Loch Creran, both of which, however, King James IV. subsequently compelled Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to restore to Duncan Stewart of Appin, Dugald's eldest son and successor.

Argyll's seal to the charter to Campbell of Glenorchy of these lands in 1470, is thus described by Laing: "Couché, gyronny of eight. Crest, on a helmet a boar's head with neck coupéd. Supporters, two lions rampant, the background ornamented with foliage." It therefore appears plainly that the quartering of the galley of Lorn on the paternal achievement of Argyll, "in consequence" of his marriage, did not only not take place on his marriage, nor even upon his succession to his wife's inheritance, at the death of her father in 1463, but that it had not even been assumed in 1470. Dugald Stewart and his descendants alone continued to bear what Laing calls "the noble coat of the Stewarts of Lorn," and though it was partly borne by the Stewarts of Innermeath, the supporters of this junior branch were changed from roebucks to fallow-deer, and the crest of a unicorn's head to a deer's head, as may be seen in Workman's "Book of Blazons," compiled about 1550, and in another Book of Blazons, apparently compiled a little later, amongst the MSS. in the British Museum.

Though Dugald Stewart, by the enforced compromise, gave up to his uncle the lordship of Lorn, his descendants were recognised as representing the noble house of the Stewarts of Lorn. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, "Lord Lyon King at Arms," was the most celebrated Scots genealogist and herald of his day, and would be punctilious in giving men of family their proper designation. As has

been already mentioned, it has always been one of the duties of the Lyon King at Arms, and, indeed, it has been specially defined as such under the Statutes of 1592 and 1672, "to record the genealogies of persons descended from noble and honourable lineage when supported by proper evidence." Sir David was born in 1490, twenty years after the Stewarts of Innermeath had divested themselves, in favour of another, of any title they had to be called Stewarts of Lorn. Forty-one years later, about 1531, Sir David wrote his poem called "The Complaynt of the Papingo," and in the "Prolog" he mentions amongst the poets of his time William Stewart, and "Stewart of Lorn" who "will carpe richt curiouslie." The poem containing a sarcastic eulogy on the liberality of James V., who is well known to have been penurious, and of his courtiers, entitled "Lergess, Lergess hay, Lergess of this New Year's day," is that written by Stewart of Lorn, and alluded to by Sir David as "carping richt curiouslie."

James V. was then nineteen years old, so that the poem must have been written shortly before that time, or sixty years after the Innermeath family had relinquished that claim to Lorn which Dugald, and his sons Duncan and Alan, had still maintained. The poem begins, "First Lergess of the King, my Chief," pretty clearly showing the writer's Highland origin. "Stewart of Lorne," so called by Sir David Lindsay, seems to have been Alan, Dugald's second son, who was in high favour with James V., as his brother had been with James IV., and in a charter was designed by the King, "consanguineus dilectus," dear blood relative. Afterwards, in the reign of James VI., in an Act of the Scots Parliament, dated 1587, the head of the clan was designed Stewart "of Lorn, or of Appin;" and in 1800, when the eldest branch of the Stewarts of Appin had become extinct, the Lyon King at Arms recognised, in his official declaration, the head of the family of Ardsheal as the representative of the "Stewarts of Lorn, Appin, and Ardsheal."

After the compromise above narrated, Dugald Stewart seems to have held his lands of Appin without molestation, and in 1497, or 1498,

we find him leading out his followers to the aid of his trusty allies, the Maclarens. This clan had made a foray into the lands of the M'Donalds of Keppoch, who had turned out in force to ravage Balquidder in reprisal. The Maclarens calling the Appin men to their assistance, met the M'Donalds about the head of Glenorchy, and in the battle which ensued Dugald was killed, but not till Donald of Keppoch, elder brother of Alaster M'Angus, had fallen under his sword.

Dugald Stewart married a daughter of Macdougall of Nether Lorn, a marriage which was probably arranged soon after the compromise of 1469 to stop the blood feud which would otherwise have continued between these two neighbouring families for years with intense inveteracy. He left three sons—

1. DUNCAN, his successor.
2. ALAN, who succeeded Duncan.
3. ROBERT, who died without legitimate issue.

DUNCAN STEWART, eldest son of Dugald Stewart, first of Appin, succeeded his father in the £40 land of Appin on his death in 1497. At this time the Western Highlands and Islands were much disturbed by the attempts of the representatives of the old Lords of the Isles to revive their pretensions to independent power. James IV., who was born in 1473, and succeeded his father in 1488, made frequent journeys to the West Highlands, and thus became acquainted with Duncan of Appin, who was a bold and energetic man. The King recognised him as his kinsman, appointed him to the office of King's Chamberlain of the Isles, and bestowed on him large grants of lands, which will be enumerated hereafter.

The King also compelled Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy to restore to Duncan Stewart the third part of Appin, and the lands in Lismore which Glenorchy's father, Sir Colin, had received out of the inheritance of Dugald, only son of Sir John Stewart, Lord of Lorn. It was hardly possible for King James to compel the restoration of the whole of Lorn to Duncan, as the two families of Argyll and Glenorchy

had held the lordship for nearly thirty years under the sanction of James III. and his Parliament, nor could he restore to him the title of Lord Lorn, for as Lord Hailes, whose authority on such a point can hardly be disputed, has pointed out, the possession of the comitatus carried with it the title. But by his grant to Duncan of a territory which extended from Loch Creran on the south to Inverlochy on the north, the Sovereign apparently desired to recompense his kinsman for the loss of Lorn without dispossessing the now powerful family of Argyll; and by giving him possession of a domain nearly equivalent in value, as well as by appointing him to this high office in the Western Highlands, the King thus placed Duncan in a position of dignity resembling that of his forefathers. As will appear from the charters hereafter quoted, Duncan had now the whole of Appin, except, perhaps, the lands of Airds, which, so far as can be ascertained, never formed part of the Stewart lands, a small rivulet called Con Ruagh constituting the narrow boundary, a single step over which brought a Stewart or a Campbell into the territory of friends or of hereditary foemen.

The first charter granted by James IV. to Duncan was the life-rent, "*Litera Vitalis*," of the lands of Duror and Glencoe. Alan MacDougall or M'Coule had received a gift of these lands during James' minority, perhaps procured for him for reasons not unconnected with past events, but the grant was revoked by James when he reached his majority. The MacDonalds of Glencoe had long been settled there as occupants, and their possession was confirmed to them by the King in 1499. They still remained in occupation of the lands, paying feuduty to Appin as superior, which Glencoe still continues to do. This charter, dated at Stirling, 14th January 1500, is "*pro bono fideli et gratuito servicio nobis per dilectum nostrum Duncanum Stewart, filium et heredem quondam Dungalli Stewart de Appin*;" the King thus recognising Dugald's title as heir of Appin, a title which could only be his as succeeding to his father, Sir John Stewart of Lorn. The charter, which is given at length in the Appendix, includes, "the seven

merk land of Coule of Durroure, the seven merk land of Ardoch and Lagynhall, the three merk land of Auchincarr, the five merk land of Auchindarroch and Auchinblane, and the three merk land of Bellecaulis, also the whole and entire twenty-five merk land of Glencoyne with its pertinents, extending in all to fifty merk lands, lying in the Sheriffdom of Perth. Which lands were formerly in the possession of John M'Coule by our gift in our minority, and now have lawfully lapsed." The lands of Glencoe were granted in 1343 by David II. to John of Yle, and were afterwards held from John of Yle by John of Larin, and were granted anew to the latter in 1354. In 1475 they were forfeited by John of Yle, Earl of Ross, and in 1476 were restored to him. In 1494, after the insurrection of Alexander of Lochalsh, the titles and lordship of the Isles were forfeited, and subsequently voluntarily surrendered; and in that year James IV. granted John Makgilleon of Lochbouie, the fifty-three merk lands of Durgwin and Glencole. These lands were now granted by the King to Duncan in 1500, and the grant was renewed in 1501.

In 1501 Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, no doubt under pressure from the King, made to Duncan Stewart of Appin the above-mentioned restitution of the one-third part of Appin, which Glenorchy had received in 1470, comprehending the eight merk land of Candlochlagane, the two merk land of Auchichoskrachan, the two merk land of Finalten, the four merk land of Auchnagen, the three merk land of Inverahawle, the one merk land of Corrylone, besides Eilan Stalcaire and some other lands. In the same year Sir Duncan also gave up to Appin the twenty shilling land of Port Carrane in Lismore, which probably included the northern part of the island opposite Appin. Both these grants were in favour of Duncan Stewart and the heirs of his body, with remainder to his brothers Alan and Robert. This is the only mention of Robert in the history of the clan, nor is there any record of his marriage. If he had had legitimate issue there seems no reason to doubt that he would have received from the Chief a grant of

land suitable to his position, as was then the invariable custom in the Highland families. It has been conjectured that a sept of the Stewarts, known as the M'Robbs, of whom an account is afterwards given, are descended from an illegitimate son of this Robert, but no certainty exists on the point.

On 24th September 1501, the Earl of Argyll and Sir Duncan Campbell bound themselves to recognise Duncan Stewart as the legal possessor of the forty pound land of Appin "*held in heritage* by his deceased father, Dugald Stewart of Appin," and, on the other hand, Duncan Stewart bound himself and his folks to be obedient to the king's laws, and not to vex or trouble the tenants and vassals of the Earl and Sir Duncan, under the penalty of £200 Scots, as a fine to the King, and £200 to the other parties for "coost and skaith," besides paying the skaith the Earl and his friends shall sustain from Duncan and his friends. From this it may be inferred that Dugald and his sons, undismayed by the strength of their foes, had not ceased to assert their rights by making continual forays and "herships" upon the lands of Lorn wrested from them.

In the "Scots Acts of Parliament of 1502," Vol. II., pp. 241, 249, we find James IV. also gave to Duncan a grant of the liferent of the royal lands of Mamore, which then included the district now called Nether Lochaber, and of the island of Dundabray. The venerable Dr M'Leod of Morven believes that this is the island still so called, lying between the coasts of Jura and Knapdale.

In 1503 Lachlan M'Gillea, or Maclean, of Duart, joined Donald Dubh in his attempt to seize the territory and authority of the ancient Lords of the Isles. Duncan Stewart of Appin, at the head of his own men, and the MacDonalds of Glencoe,—who then mustered about 150 claymores,—was prominent, as King's Chamberlain of the Isles, in opposing Maclean, who abandoned Donald Dubh's cause, and finally submitted in 1505. Donald Dubh's insurrection was suppressed in 1506, and the result of his defeat was to transfer to the Earls of

Huntly and Argyll the great power which had been enjoyed by the Earls of Ross, the former receiving at the same time large grants of land in Banffshire, Strathearn, and Lochaber. Differences seem to have arisen between Lochiel and his new neighbour, for we find in the Acts of the Lords of Council on 16th February 1507, a decree against "Ewin Allansoune" in favour of "Archibald Erle of Argile as cessionar and assignaye" to Alexander Earl of Huntly for an herschip of the Clan Cameron in Badenoch. The name of Duncan Stewart does not appear in this document, but the friendship and alliance which subsisted between the Stewarts and the Camerons—and which, indeed, became closer in succeeding generations—prompted the chief of Appin to come forward, not only as the mediator between the antagonists, but as security for his friend. In consequence of this arrangement the Lords of Council decreed on 9th February 1508 that Ewin Allansoune and Duncan Stewart should pay to Argyll the sum of 500 merks. The settlement of the claim seems to have been deferred for some years, for it was not until 1511 that Ewine Alansoune and Duncan Stewart gave a Charter of Apprisement of the lands of Kilandreist, Port Carran, and Kinlochan in Lismore, and of the island of Shuna, in favour of Archibald Earl of Argyll, as part payment of 500 merks, the balance remaining due being possibly one of those claims remitted by Argyll at the final settlement in 1512 between Appin and the Earl, in the latter's capacity of security for Maclean of Duart.

We have seen that the lands of Glencoe and Duror, after having been granted in 1494 to John Makgilleon of Lochbouie, had been in 1500 granted by James IV. to Duncan Stewart of Appin, the Glencoe men having warmly espoused the cause of Donald Dubh, whose escape in 1501 from prison in the Castle of Inchconnell was effected by their gallantry and fidelity. This transfer seems to have subsequently led to a raid upon Duncan's tenants by the MacLeans, headed by "Lauchlan M'Gillane of Dowarde, Johnne M'Cane Maklauchlane of Coll, and Dunslavay M'Barich of Ulva." On the 9th May 1509 we

find the record of the summons to the MacLeans, and on the 21st July of the same year the decrees in favour of Duncan Stewart, and of his Appin and Duror tenants, which will be found in the Appendix.

The settlement between Duart and Appin which had been in progress after the above decrees, seems to have been interrupted by the death in 1510 of the former, who was succeeded by his son of the same name. In 1510 James IV. confirmed to Duncan Stewart of Appin "the $6\frac{1}{2}$ mark lands of Auchnadialla, the $6\frac{1}{2}$ mark lands of Corriemyll, the 3 mark lands of Canmask, the 3 mark lands of Thorane Carrigh in Lochaber, which with other lands he has acquired from the deceased Lauchlan Magilleon of Dowart in lieu of a certain sum of money, and under reversion on payment of that sum." On the 8th of April 1510 King James granted Duncan a Charter of Apprisement, *Carta Appreciationis*, a summary of which is given in the Appendix, addressed to "certain of our Sheriffs, commanding them to compel and distrain Lachlan Makgilleon of Dowart for the sum of four thousand five hundred merks to be recovered from him by our beloved Duncan Stewart of Appin." MacLean had been ordered to enter upon his lands, no doubt in succession to his deceased father, so that he might legally give them over to Appin in security for the money, but he had failed to do so, and in consequence the King, by advice of his Council, received Duncan Stewart as tenant of the lands belonging to Lauchlan MacLean in heritage, granting MacLean a right of redemption on payment to Appin of the 4500 merks and expenses within seven years. These lands comprehended nearly the whole of the islands of Mull and Tiree, lands in Jura and Knapdale, in Morven and Lochaber, and also the stewardship of Garmoran, now called Ardnamurchan.

The questions still remaining unsettled between Appin and Duart were reopened before the Lords of Council in 1512. On the 1st of March in that year we find the Earl of Argyll, who was shortly to become the father-in-law of the youthful chief of the MacLeans, appearing as his friend and becoming his security for the amount at which Appin's

claim had been approximately fixed by arbitrators, viz., 1040 merks. On the following day the Bishop of Argyll comes forward to claim his share of any composition which Duncan might be induced to accept, and offering in return the King's pardon and remission of all crimes committed by Duncan and his clansmen. On the same day, the 2nd March 1512, it is decreed that the Earl of Argyll "of his own consent as borgh and dettour for Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart sall content and pay to Duncan Stewart of Appin the sovm of ane thousand and fourty merks vsuall money of Scotland." It was probably in view of Argyll's taking upon himself this payment that Duncan, still on the same day, made application, jointly with Duart, to the Lords of Council to give the authority of their decree to the decision of a meeting of arbitrators at Edinburgh on the 19th of February preceding. These arbitrators were David Bishop of Galloway, Alexander Earl of Huntly, Archibald Earl of Argyll, William Earl of Erroll, and William Scot of Balwearie, and they had awarded him in satisfaction of his claim the sum of 1011 merks, of which a certain proportion was to be paid to Duncan's tenants, and the balance of 800 merks to Duncan himself, at sundry specified terms within 2 years and 20 days. Various other conditions were also imposed by the arbitrators, one of which was that Duncan on his part should restore to the King his liferent or heritage of the 13 merk land lying beside the Castle of Inverlochy whereof MacLean had an old grant. Duncan had evidently received from James IV. before this time a promise of these lands, but the charter itself—granting to him, for his good service and for his present to the King of a galley of 36 oars, the liferent of the lands of Innerlochy, Terelondy, Drumefour, and Auchentoir, in the lordship of Lochaber—did not pass the seals till the 9th July 1512. On the other hand Argyll was to remit to Duncan a debt of 100 merks due to the former, and all claims against Duncan or his tenants, and to "do his diligence" to cause his uncle, Sir Duncan Campbell, to do the same. Argyll was also to renew to Appin the infestment of those lands which the latter

held of him, and their mutual relations were to exist "in kindness and heartliness in time to come." A further decree on the same day makes Argyll liable for the payment of the 1011 merks, and a still later one of the same date sets forth that Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart and John Makclane of Louchboy shall jointly free, relieve, and keep scaithless the Earl of Argyll in respect of this 1011 merks, Dowart finally obliging himself to indemnify Louchboy.

An amicable settlement of these long pending claims was thus arrived at, and upon terms extremely favourable to MacLean when compared with the damages awarded by the Lords in council. It was no doubt after friendly communications had passed between Appin and Duart that Duncan proceeded to Mull, as his sole attendant on the occasion was his henchman. There may perhaps have been no pre-meditated intention on the part of the MacLeans to provoke a quarrel, but rough jokes were passed upon the size and weight of Duncan's follower. The chief retorted that the Appin men were not fed upon mean shell-fish like barnacles, as the MacLeans were said to be; and seeing their now evident purpose and his own inevitable fate, he set his back against the rampart of the castle, and, pursuing the grim jest, declared that before he died he would make with his dirk marks like barnacles on many of the MacLeans. He fell, overpowered by numbers, after a gallant resistance.

MacLea, now called Livingstone, of Bachuill in Lismore, hearing of the death of his chief, set out for Duart Castle at night in his boat, which was rowed by his two red-haired daughters. He scuttled all the boats in the Port of Duart, and brought the corpse of his chief to Lismore, in the church of which island it was buried. The tombstone was, until lately, visible in the floor, but was covered when some alterations were made in the church in 1877.

This family of Livingstone, commonly called the Barons of Bachuill, received in early times a grant of land in Lismore, which they still hold as keepers of the Bishop of Lismore's crozier or baculum, in

Gaelic "Bachuill Mor." The crozier was given up by them a few years ago to the Duke of Argyll, when he granted a confirmation of their title to their old possession. The sept of MacLea or Livingstone seem to have been very anciently seated in Appin, where they have held lands as tenants of the Stewarts, and have always followed their banner to war. At Culloden four of the name were killed and one wounded. Dr David Livingstone, the celebrated explorer in Africa, was of this race, and some of his relatives still reside in Appin, Mr Livingstone at Portnacroish being the nearest of kin. Dr David Livingstone writes of himself, "Our great grandfather fell at the battle of Culloden, fighting for the old line of kings;" and it is doubtless to the baculum or Bachuill Mor that he alludes, when he recounts that his Roman Catholic ancestors "were made Protestants by the laird coming round with a man having a yellow staff, which would seem to have attracted more attention than his teaching, for the new religion went long afterwards—perhaps it does so still—by the name of 'the religion of the yellow stick.'"

For the accommodation of James IV., Duncan Stewart rebuilt Castle Stalcaire, which had previously been a hunting-seat of the Lords of Lorn, of the families of MacDougall and Stewart. Eilan Stalcaire signifies in Gaelic Falconer's Island, and tradition says that it was often inhabited by King James IV. and King James V. when hunting, hawking, or fishing in Appin and the surrounding districts. A brooch was long in the possession of the Appin family, which had for a pendant a handsome pearl, said to have been taken out of a salmon killed by Duncan when fishing in the river Awe with James IV.

It was on the 9th July 1512 that Duncan Stewart, second of Appin, received the charter of Inverlochy which has been above noticed, and as his brother Alan led the clan to Flodden on the 9th September 1513, it may be concluded that his death took place between those dates. He was never married, and was succeeded by his brother Alan.

ALAN STEWART, third of Appin, soon after his succession, accompanied, together with his five sons, King James IV. to the disastrous field of Flodden, where that chivalrous benefactor of the Stewarts of Appin was slain. Alan was not long in finding the want of his royal kinsman's friendship and protection, and in experiencing the truth of the saying that the country is hapless whose monarch is a child. After the battle of Flodden the Islemen again rose in rebellion under Sir Donald MacDonald of Lochalsh, and the Earl of Argyll was appointed by the Council to the command of the force raised to subdue them. In 1517 Argyll obtained from the Regent Albany an appointment as his Lieutenant in Durrou, Glencoe, and Lochiel, to "keep the peace of the inhabitants;" the peace desired being apparently that described by Tacitus, "*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*," they make a wilderness and call it peace. In 1518 Alan was obliged to grant to the Earl of Argyll a Charter of Apprisement of the lands of Fasnacloich and Glasdrum; but in 1539, in the reign of James V., these lands were feued to Alan and his heirs, the Earl retaining the superiority. On the 6th June 1522, John Campbell of Calder, brother of the Earl of Argyll, obtained from Maclean of Lochbuy the assignment of his obsolete and revoked charter, dated in 1494, of the lands of Durrou, Glencoe, and part of the lands of Lochiel, but the Stewarts, MacDonalds, and Camerons effectually resisted his efforts to take possession. On the 8th November 1528 a meeting took place in Edinburgh with the view of settling the questions in dispute, Archibald Campbell of Skipness, Alexander M'Ian M'Alexander of Glengarry, and John M'Alan M'Donuile Duff being chosen as arbitrators. The selection could not certainly be considered a favourable one for Lochiel and Appin: the first being Calder's brother and a hereditary foe, while the two latter could probably bear but little favour towards Alan Stewart after the defeat and death of their kinsman Donall mac Aonghais of Keppoch by the hand of Dugald of Appin, Alan's father. The decree of the arbitrators, confirmed four days later by the Lords

in Council, was, after declaring that goodwill was to prevail for the future, to award a sum of 400 merks to be paid to Calder by Lochiel and Appin for scaith done to Calder, but that 300 merks of this sum were to be remitted on condition of their giving Calder their bond of man-rent in return for Calder's bond of maintenance. Notwithstanding this settlement, however, matters do not seem to have gone on smoothly, for Calder subsequently resigned these lands to the King; and the Council of which Argyll was a member, King James V. being still in minority, granted them to the Earl. In his account of these transactions Gregory says: "For some years after this time" (1520-7) "the Isles remained in a state of comparative tranquillity, owing partly to the continued imprisonment of Donald Dubh, which deprived the Islanders of their natural leader. This interval of peace was employed by Argyll in extending his influence among the chiefs with whom his commission of lieutenancy brought him in contact. . . . The principal coadjutors of Argyll in these plans for the aggrandisement of his family and clan, were his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. Calder, whose patrimony lay in the district of Lorn, was particularly active; and having acquired from Maclean of Lochbuy certain claims, hitherto ineffectual, which that chief had to the lands of Lochiel, Duror, and Glencoe, he did not fail to make use of his opportunities. At first he was violently resisted by the Camerons and Stewarts, and suffered many injuries from them in these disputes. But by transferring his title to these lands to his brother Argyll, and employing the influence of that nobleman, Calder succeeded in establishing a certain degree of authority over the unruly inhabitants, in a mode then of very frequent occurrence. Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and Alan Stewart of Duror, were, by the arbitration of friends, ordered to pay Calder a large sum of damages, and likewise to give to him, for themselves, their children, kin, and friends, their bond of man-rent and service against all men, except the King and Argyll. In consideration of these bonds of service, three fourths of the damages awarded were

remitted by Calder, who became also bound to give his bond of maintenance in return. Finally, if the said Ewin and Alan should do good service to Sir John in helping him to obtain lands and possessions, they were to be rewarded by him therefor at the discretion of the arbiters. By such means was the influence of the house of Argyll extended and confirmed in the West Highlands."

Colin, Earl of Argyll, died in 1530, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, fourth Earl, who pursued the same course of intrigue in the Western Highlands; but a complaint being brought before the King and Council that he, his father, and his uncles Sir John Campbell of Calder, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, had for a long time fomented disturbances in the Highlands that they might acquire possession of the forfeited estates, the Earl was summoned to Edinburgh to answer these charges, and committed to prison by the King on his arrival. He was soon liberated, but was deprived of his offices, which he never regained during the lifetime of James V. The King, having revoked all charters granted during his minority, at Falkland on the 7th December 1538, granted to Alan Stewart, his well-beloved relation in blood and servitor, "*dilectus consanguineus et servitor Alanus Stewart in Lorne*," a charter, given in the Appendix, of the twenty pound land of Durroure in fee farm, viz., the seven merk land of Coule and Glencalladam, the seven merk land of Ardsell and Lagnahall, the three merk land of Ballychelis, the five merk land of Auchnandarroch, the three merk land of Auchycarne, the five merk land of Auchychan and Auchinblare, and the twenty merk land of Glenkowne, with all their pertinents, to the value of fifty merks. The charter is to Alan and his heirs, on condition of their paying to the king and his heirs a yearly rent of £40 Scots, and "building and keeping a sufficient mansion with hall, chamber, kitchen, barn, byre, stables, dovecots, gardens, orchards, etc." The charter is very explicit in conveying to Alan and his heirs these lands and their pertinents, woods, plains, mosses, morasses, waters stagnant and running, rivulets, fields and

pastures, mills with their multures and sequels, rights of hunting and fishing, peats, turf, timber, coal, stone, lime, gorse, broom, and everything above or below ground pertaining to the said lands, to be held in peace without any revocation or renunciation whatever by the said Alan and his heirs.

It might have been reckoned that so full a grant would have effectually secured the peaceable possession of these lands to Alan and his heirs. But James V. died in 1542, and in 1547, when Queen Mary was a child, and Argyll had regained his authority in the West of Scotland, we find Alan Stewart resigning these lands of Duror, Ballachelish, and Glencoe into the hands of the Queen, and they were re-conveyed to the Earl of Argyll. After the former experience the Earl was not likely again to attempt to dispossess Alan of this territory, and it was re-granted to him, the Earl retaining the superiority, at a somewhat smaller feu-rent than that which Alan, in his original charter, had covenanted to pay to the Crown.

In 1547, Somerset, the Protector of England, renewed the proposal of marriage between Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and marched an army of 18,000 men into Scotland to compel the compliance of the Scots. In the battle of Pinkie, which ensued on the 10th September of that year, the Stewarts of Appin bore their part, the regiment being commanded by Donald-nan-ord, second of Invernahyle, Alan Stewart being then an old man, and his eldest son Duncan dead, while his grandson John, who succeeded him, was still a minor.

Alan Stewart married a daughter of Cameron of Lochiel, by whom he had five sons, all of whom accompanied their father to the field of Flodden.

They were :—

1. DUNCAN.

2. JOHN : of whom the first Stewarts of Strathgarry. Page 152.

3. DUGALD : of whom Achnacone. Page 153.

4. JAMES : of whom Fasnacloich. Page 155.

5. ALEXANDER : of whom Invernahyle. Page 165.

Alan seems to have died, at a very advanced age, about or soon after the year 1562.

DUNCAN STEWART, fourth of Appin, appears to have predeceased his father before the battle of Pinkie in 1547, as we find the clan led on that occasion, as above mentioned, by the Tutor. He was certainly dead before 1562, as we find that in that year Alan Stewart of Appin resigned the lands in Lismore, held by him from Campbell of Glenorchy, for the purpose of having them re-granted to John Stewart, his grandson, the liferent of them, however, being reserved to Alan. Duncan married Jonet Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, who had obtained the neighbouring territory of Lochaber. In 1558 John Campbell of Calder, Commendator of Ardchattan Priory, granted to Jonet Gordon, Lady of Appin, in consideration of payments by her for repairing the church and monastery, the two merk lands of Yriskay and Dyrremeenach for a yearly payment of £4 Scots, and in 1562 she resigned these lands to John Campbell, the natural son of the Commendator.

Mr D. C. Macpherson, of the Advocates' Library, who has published an account of the clan Donald of Keppoch, gives the following narrative relating to Duncan, fourth of Appin. Raonall, second son of Raonall MacDhonaill Ghlais, and eighth of Keppoch, married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, younger of Appin. It is said that Stewart paid a visit to his son-in-law, and that he was escorted on his return by a party of the Keppoch men, the chief having promised him a safe conduct out of the parish. This was fulfilled to the letter, but as they were fording the river Nevis near Fort William, just as they got to the Kilmallie side, one M'Arthur struck off Stewart's head with his axe. These M'Arthurs are still in Lochaber, and bear the nick-name of "Tuagh bhèarnach Mhic-Artair," the M'Arthurs of the hacked axe. The daughter of Appin took with her to Keppoch some Stewarts,

named Dubh-shuilich, from their dark heavy eyebrows, who were ever after the "Fir-bhrataich" or standard-bearers of the Keppochs, and their descendants are still in that country. This violent end would account for the death of Duncan during his father's lifetime. He left one son John.

JOHN STEWART, fifth of Appin, was called, from his complexion and his maternal descent, "Gordonich baan," the fair Gordon. In the "Black Book of Taymouth" it is stated that, on 4th December 1570, John Stewart of Appin entered into a mutual contract with Colin Campbell of Glenurquhay for their common defence. He is also mentioned in records of the year 1580. In the Acts of 1587, on "The Roll of the Names of the Landislordes and Baillies of Landis in the Hielandis and Iles, quhair Brokin men hes duelt and presentlie duellis," we find 103 names, commencing with that of Ludovick, second duke of Lennox, and ending with that of The Lord Hamiltown (Lord John Hamilton, proprietor of Arran, and afterwards Marquis of Hamilton), and among them is "Johnne Stewart of the Appin." And in the same year, on "The Roll of the Clannis (in the Hielandis and Iles) that hes Capitanes, Cheiffis, and Chiftanes on quhome thay depend, oft tymes aganis the willis of thair landislordis: and of sum speciale persones of branchis of the saidis clannis" there appear thirty-four names, among whom are the "Stewartis of Lorne or of Appin." Also in the Rotation of the Highland Clans, as mentioned in the two Acts of Parliament of 1587 and 1594, forty-two names are recorded, the eleventh on the list being "Stewarts of Appin."

In 1592 an extensive conspiracy was entered into, having for its object the murder of the "bonnie Earl of Murray," Archibald 7th Earl of Argyle, and his kinsman James Campbell of Calder, the principal administrator of the affairs of the latter earldom. In February 1592, the Earl of Murray was murdered at his house of Donibristle in Fife, by a party of the Gordons under the command of the Earl of Huntly. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck,

and Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, three of the guardians of the young Earl of Argyll, were among the conspirators of the West ; and, as brother-in-law of Lochnell, John Stewart of Appin was induced to join the plot, and, with him, Cameron of Lochiel and MacDougall of Dunolly. Sir John Campbell of Ardkinglass next became an accessory, and procured the services of an assassin named M'Ellar, who shot Calder in the house of Knepoch in Lorn, in February 1592. Ardkinglass' hereditary feud with Calder caused him to be suspected, and he was consequently threatened with the vengeance of the young Argyll. Glenorchy then ventured to communicate to him the plan of getting rid of the Earl and his brother, but Ardkinglass refused to be a party to it. Had this part of the plot been carried out, Lochnell would have succeeded, as heir, to the earldom, Glenorchy was to have received the barony of Lochow and Benderaloch, and MacDougall the lands of Luing, while John Stewart was to have had all the lands in Lorn belonging to the Earl, an arrangement which clearly shows that the claim of his family to Lorn was still recognised, even by some among the Campbells themselves. These occurrences served to embitter still further the feud between the families.

John Stewart married, first, Katharine, daughter of John gorm Campbell, first of Lochnell, and widow of John Maclean of Kinlochaline, by whom he had one son, Duncan, his successor ; and, secondly, a daughter of Macdonald of Muidart, who bore to him a son, John, afterwards of Ardsheal. He had also a daughter, married to Alan Cameron of Lochiel. John Drummond of Bathaldie, in his memoir of Sir Ewen Cameron, says of her that "she was a handsome young lady, and by an excess of beauty, witt, and good-nature, so gained upon her husband's affections that he continued fond of her all his life." John Stewart of Appin must have died previous to, or in the early part of, 1595.

DUNCAN STEWART, sixth of Appin, succeeded his father, and in 1595 the possession of the lands in Lismore was confirmed by the superior, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, to "Duncan Stewart of

Appin, son of the deceased John Stewart." In 1595 Duncan Stewart granted, in heritage, to Gilliemichael M'Ewin V'Illemichael in Annat, the "domus bruerie" of Annat, and certain land bounded by the rivulet of Annat on the west, by the "pule" called Lyn Ruagh on the south, by the rivulet of Achnagone on the east, and by the ridge "lie edge montis," between the rivulets of Annat and Achnagone, on the north. These lands form part of the estate now called Kinlochlaigh.

It was in Duncan's lifetime that there lived and sang a poetess of the Siol Tormod, or clan MacLeod of Harris, called Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh. It would appear from the following effusion—unless, indeed, it is to be regarded as entirely fanciful—that there had been some project of a marriage between Stewart of Appin and a daughter of MacLeod, by which Appin hoped to acquire some of the MacLeod lands. This seems to have been displeasing to the clan, and Mary embodied their feeling in the following stanza of a poem, which has been translated from the original Gaelic by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Nether Lochaber:—

"Mac Ian Stewart of Appin,
Though thou art a fine young fellow,
Though the Stewarts are high-minded,
And know what they should do in war,
Take no thought nor heed (of acquiring)
Of lands which are not thine by right ;
Thou canst not take them in spite of us,
And with our will they shall never be thine."

The records at Dunvegan supply no clue to the project to which the bardess alludes, and there was no connection by marriage between the families of the Chiefs of MacLeod and Appin till after her death.

Duncan married a daughter of Campbell of Lochnell, by whom he had three sons—Duncan, his successor, and John and Alan. An old family MS. states that these two latter "appear to have had no issue, as the ingenious author of the 'History of the Stewarts' mentions

nothing of them but their Christian names, and narrates that in the succeeding generation the Laird of Ardsheal was Tutor, as nearest of kin to Appin, a fact universally known to all the branches of this family."

DUNCAN STEWART, seventh of Appin, succeeded his father. It was this Chief of Appin who was persuaded, during a carousal, to give up Castle Stalcaire to Campbell of Airds in exchange for an eight-oared "beorlin" or wherry. Appin endeavoured to have the unfair, and no doubt vinous, bargain recalled; but Airds refused to cancel a transaction so advantageous to himself, and Duncan, who, if not discreet, was at all events honourable, would not, without the other's consent, retract his word, though it had been passed in circumstances under which its fulfilment should certainly not have been exacted. The Stewart clan were indignant at seeing the alienation of the castle, which was not only their principal fortress, but which was a natural object of their pride as having been built for and occupied by the kings who had owned them as kinsmen, and assembled to consider whether they should not appoint one of Duncan's brothers to be their chief instead of this "Baothaire," or soft, easily-persuaded man, as they nick-named Duncan. The offended clan did not go so far as to depose him, but resolved that he should not lead them in any expedition of war. In consequence of this decision they were led on these occasions by the chief's brother John—at least until Duncan's son, Duncan Mor, had attained majority—as in 1614 we find John was summoned to Edinburgh to answer charges brought against the Stewarts by the Earl of Argyll for forays upon his lands. It does not appear that John obeyed the summons, but on the 9th May 1620 Duncan Mor Stewart, younger of Appin, son of Duncan seventh baron, granted an assignment of his rights in two bonds by James Spreul of Coldane and William Murray, in favour of Matthew White, keeper of the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, as a condition of his liberation. As this assignment is enumerated in the Reports previously referred to as existing amongst the Argyll papers, it seems probable that the heir of Appin had been seized to answer the complaints made

by the Earl of Argyll's son, to whom the Earl had conveyed his estates previous to his forfeiture. This forfeiture had taken place in 1618, when Argyll had made open defection from the Protestant faith and gone to Spain, where he was intriguing with the banished Sir James Macdonald and Allaster MacRanald of Keppoch. In consequence of this, in December of that year twenty of the Argyllshire barons were summoned before the Privy Council, and to each was assigned a district in which he was responsible for the preservation of the peace; Lochnell, Stewart of Appin, the MacDougalls of Dunolly and Reray, and the Campbells of Dunstaffnage, Barbreck, and Glenfalloch being appointed for Upper Lorn.

The Castle of Eilean Stalcaire has ever since continued to be the property of the Campbells, the unequal compact having been honourably observed by the Stewarts; but on the outbreak of hostilities on subsequent occasions, it was promptly seized and held for the king by its old possessors, in their capacity of Hereditary Keepers of the Castle.

Duncan married a daughter of Cameron of Lochell, and had issue—Duncan, his successor; Alan, who married a daughter of Maclean of Coll; and Donald, who was father of William Stewart, a priest, who was murdered at Rome in 1737.

DUNCAN STEWART, eighth of Appin, called Duncan Mor, succeeded to the estate on his father's death, after having been for many years virtually the leader of the clan. On the 30th January 1645 he was one of those who signed "ane Band of Unione amongst all his Majestie's faithfull subjects," and according to his promise therein, he took the field at the head of his clan to join the Marquess of Montrose. On a clear and cold Sunday morning, on the 2nd February 1645, the Stewarts of Appin were in the centre of the great Marquess' army at the battle of Inverlochy, where they distinguished themselves by their furious valour, doubly inspired, as Hogg has beautifully expressed it, by their loyalty to the Royal head of the House of Stewart, and by their desire to avenge the many injuries they had sustained from Argyll. The skilful

strategy of Montrose had cut off from the Campbells their only line of retreat, which was towards Ballachelish, and on their defeat they were thus forced backwards on the sea and the river Lochy, where many were drowned in their flight, their loss being not less than 1500 killed. Duncan Mor continued in arms during the whole campaign, and after the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh on 13th September 1645, joined Sir Alexander MacColl Macdonald, who still kept the field in Argyllshire for King Charles. After Sir Alexander was forced to retire to Ireland, the district of Appin was sentenced to be ravaged with fire and sword, but was saved from this extremity by the intervention of Major James Stewart of Ardvoirlich. Major Stewart had faithfully served King Charles in Montrose's army, but he was a man of high temper, and in a private quarrel after the battle of Tippermuir, he unhappily killed Lord Kilpont, son of William 18th Earl of Menteith, after which he was obliged in self-defence to ally himself with Argyll and the Covenanters. By his interest with General Leslie, Major Stewart also saved the life of Henry Stewart, the laird of Baith or Beach.

The execution of Charles I., on 20th January 1649, was loudly condemned in Scotland, and his son was proclaimed King on the 5th of the following month. Loyalty to the Sovereign was for the moment in the ascendant, and among the names of Royalist gentlemen who were appointed Commissioners of Supply in the beginning of that year, we find that of Duncan Stewart of Appin. But with Charles II.'s rejection of the overtures of the Presbyterians, a change came over the spirit of the Covenanters, and the gallant but ill-fated attempt by Montrose, terminating in his capture in Assynt, and his execution on 25th May 1649, had the effect of bringing down the vengeance of the Government upon the heads of those who, four years before, had borne their share in the brilliant victories of the great Marquess at Inverlochy, Auldearn, and Kilsyth, and who were perhaps known to be now preparing to rejoin him. Thus we find from the Scots Acts Parliament of 7th August 1649 that Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warristoun, His

Majesty's Advocate, presented a petition against Murdoch Maclean of Lochbuy, Duncan Stewart, younger of Appin, Alexander Stewart of Invernaheil, and Hector Maclaine of Kingerloch, for joining James Grahame at Kilsythe, and being with him with all the men they could command at the battle of Inverlochie, and at divers other places, for which they were forfeaulted in persons, lands, and estates.

Duncan Mor's forfeiture was, of course, cancelled on the accession of Charles II. in 1660, and in the Acts of the Scots Parliament of the following year, Duncane Stewart of Apyne is named as a Commissioner of Supply for Argyleshire, and also as one of His Majesty's Commissioners for regulating and uplifting certain excise duties. He married Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, but his only child was a daughter, Margaret, who married Campbell of Lochnell, his lands and the chiefship passing on his death, which occurred apparently before 1685, to his nephew, Robert, only son of his brother Alan, by his wife, the daughter of Maclean of Coll.

ROBERT STEWART, ninth of Appin, succeeded his uncle. The first mention of him is in 1685, in the Acts of Parliament of which year we find "Stuart of Appin or his Tutor" appointed a Commissioner of Supply. He hastened from college to accompany the clan when, on account of his youth, it was led by John Stewart of Ardsheal, who, as next of kin, was his Tutor, to join Viscount Dundee when he declared for King James VII. in 1689. In expectation of aid both in men and money from King James, then in Ireland, Dundee came to Inverlochy, where he was in the midst of the loyal clans of Camerons, Stewarts, MacDonalds, and MacLeans. On his arrival at Inverlochy he found the Stewarts of Appin and the MacNaughtons awaiting him, having received notice from Lochiel of his coming. Writing of the events of this year, Lord Macaulay has said that "while England and Scotland were execrating the tyranny of James, he was honoured as a deliverer in Appin and Lochaber, in Glenroy and Glenmore," and he proceeds to ascribe the Jacobitism of the

Highlanders at that time to their dread and hatred of the grasping and insatiable house of Argyll, putting his case with perhaps even more than his usual force and eloquence. But this theory, though possibly not absolutely devoid of foundation as regards the events of 1689, would entirely fail to account for the attachment of the Highlanders to the cause of the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745, when their lives or estates were hardly in greater danger from MacCaillein Mor than they are at the present day; and the dispassionate observer, after reading the record of Highland fidelity and devotion in 1745 and 1746, will hardly be disposed to endorse the conclusions of the Whig historian in this matter.

Dundee remained for some time in Lochaber, anxiously awaiting the arrival of troops and supplies from Ireland. Macaulay says it was impossible for him to keep his Highlanders together in a state of inactivity. A vast extent of moor and mountain was required to furnish food for so many mouths. The clans therefore went back to their own glens, having promised to reassemble on the first summons. A few weeks after, hostilities broke out more violently than before. Stewart of Ballechin, at a meeting of the Stewarts of Athole and the Marquis of Athole's vassals, filled his bonnet with water from a neighbouring stream, drank a health to King James, and immediately seized in his interest Blair Castle, which occupies a commanding position at the head of the Pass of Killiecrankie. Lord Murray, the eldest son of the Marquis, and a declared Williamite, demanded admission to his father's house, but the garrison refused to open the gates. On the fate of Blair Castle probably depended the fate of all Athole. On the fate of Athole might depend the fate of Scotland. Dundee hastily summoned all the clans who acknowledged his commission to prepare for an expedition into Athole. The fiery crosses were sent again in all haste through Appin and Ardnamurchan, up Glenmore, and along Loch Leven; but the call was so unexpected, and the time allowed so short, that the muster was not a very full one. Dundee had only 1900 Highlanders with him when, after his rapid march across the mountains

of Lochaber and Badenoch to anticipate Mackay, he so signally defeated that general about sunset on the 17th June 1689. It has been doubted whether the Stewarts of Appin took part in the battle of Killiecrankie, or Roinn Rhuari, as the Highlanders call it. Lord Macaulay says that "the Stewarts of Appin who, though full of zeal, had not been able to come up in time for the battle, were among the first who arrived after it."

This statement, however, is not quite correct, but the mistake may have not unnaturally arisen from the circumstance that a considerable body of the Stewarts joined the Highland army two days after the battle, and this fact being mentioned by Drummond of Bathaldie in his memoir of Sir Ewen Cameron, Lord Macaulay and other historians have erroneously concluded that no part of the clan had any share in the victory. But before passing sentence of attainder upon the chief men engaged in Dundee's rising, the Scots Parliament examined witnesses to prove the complicity of the accused. Among these was Lieut. James Colt, who deposed that he had been taken prisoner by Dundee and carried by him to Inverlochy, and that "he saw a young man, who was said to be Stewart of Appin, join Dundee between Lochaber and Badenoch with a hundred and thretty men of his own with him." James Malcolm became King's evidence, and deponed that he saw Stewart of Appin join Dundee in Lochaber with a company of men, who had colours. The helmet worn by Robert Stewart of Appin at Killiecrankie is still in possession of Dugald Stuart of Lochcarron, one of the family of Ballachelish. The following extracts from a letter written shortly after the battle by Alexander Stewart of Ballachelish to his kinsman of Invernahyle, show clearly that a part of the Appin clan had joined Dundee before he encountered Mackay at Roinn Rhuari. "When Lochiel got letters from Claverhouse he came to see Appin, and upon this we all went to Letter Shuna," the Gaelic name for the place where Appin House stands. "Everything was settled overnight, and Lochiel came on with me the day after, and slept with

us. Next day I put him on the loch, etc." The letter, which will be found at length in the Appendix, then goes on to say: "At Roinn Rhuari I was hurt in the hand, and we went on to Dunkeld, and tried to take the Cathedral, where poor Sandy was killed." "Sandy" was a brother of John Stewart, third of Ardsheal. Against the latter, described as Tutor of Appin, abundant evidence was forthcoming before Parliament as to his having led the clan. It therefore seems probable that Ardsheal had been in command of the clan at the original muster at Inverlochy, and that when Dundee's hasty summons arrived, the young chief set off at once with the men nearest at hand, leaving the Tutor to follow with the main body. The detachment of the Stewarts present at the battle seems to have been brigaded with their fast friends the Camerons, a large body of whom also only arrived two days afterwards.

In the end of last century Professor Kennedy of Aberdeen wrote a curious rhyming ballad in Latin, in which he enumerates the principal gentlemen who were in Dundee's army. The poem is entitled, "*Prælium Gilliecrankianum*," and in the following verse Macneil of Barra, the Chiefs of Glencoe, Keppoch, and Appin, and Stewart of Ballechin and his brother, are named among those who "fought bravely" for James VII.:—

"Macneillus de Bara, Glencono, Keppochanus,
Ballechinus cum fratre, Stewartus Apianus,
Pro Jacobo Septimo fortiter gessere,
Pugiles fortissimi feliciter vicere."

The death of Dundee at Killiecrankie was more fatal to the cause of the Stewarts than a defeat of his army would have been, as his successor, General Cannon, if not actually incapable, had, at all events, none of the genius necessary for conducting Highland warfare. Disgusted with his inefficiency, Lochiel returned home; the Stewarts, however, remained and lost many men, including the Tutor's brother, in the ineffectual attacks on the Cathedral and house of Dunkeld, which

were defended by the newly raised regiment, "The Cameronians," now the 26th of the Line, whose colours, which have since been proudly borne in every quarter of the world, were, on that day, for the first time unfurled. Seeing, at length, that no lasting success could be achieved under such a commander, the Highland Chiefs assembled at Blair Castle on the 24th August 1689, and, having signed the following bond of association, went home; the small contingent promised by many of the chiefs showing how heavy had been their losses in the victory of Killiecrankie and the ineffectual attack on Dunkeld. The Bond, which was produced to the Scots Parliament on the 13th June 1690, is as follows:—"Wee, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Balbehan, Sr. John McLean, Sir Donald McDonald, Sr. Ewan Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sr. Alex^r. McLean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, L. Coll, McGregor, Bara, Large, McNaughton, doe hereby bind and oblige ourselves for his Matie's service, and our own safeties, to meit att the day of September next, and to bring along with us of fencible men, that is to say, L. James Murray and Ballechin, Sr. John McLean 200, Sr. Donald McDonald 200, Sr. Ewan Cameron 200, Glengarie 200, Benbecula 200, Sir Alex^r. McLean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, L. Coll, McGregor 100, Callochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, McNaughton 50, Large 50. Bot in caice any of the rebells shall assault or attaque any of the above named persons betwixt the date hereof and the afore-said day of rendevouze, we doe all solemnlie promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power, as witness thir presents signed by us at the Castle of Blair the 24th August 1689 years.

THO. FARQ^RSONE.

D. MAKDONALD.

AL. ROBERTSONE.

JO. MACLEANE.

D. M. D. of Benbecula.

D. McNEILL.

E. CAMERON of Lochell.

AL. McDONALD.

ALEX. McDONALD.

AL. STEWART.

DO. MCGREGOR.

ALEX. M. DONELL.

They were consequently forfeited on the 16th July 1690. It is, therefore, evident that none of the signatories had taken advantage of the Proclamation of William and Mary, dated 22nd August 1689, offering indemnity to all, "including Chieftanes of Clans," who would surrender betwixt that date and 3rd September, but threatening all those who "continue obstinat and incorrigible that they shall be punished with the utmost rigour of the law." Indeed, if we are to suppose that the Proclamation was issued in Scotland on the day on which it bears date, the Bond above quoted may, perhaps, be regarded as the deliberate and defiant answer of the confederate chiefs. Later in the same year Robert Stewart of Appin was surprised by the Governor of Inverlochy, and sent prisoner by sea to Glasgow, but was released, perhaps in consequence of his youth, by the direct order of Queen Mary, then governing in the absence of William III. in Ireland. Ardsheal, as Tutor of Appin, and as his representative in the office of Hereditary Keeper, continued to hold Castle Stalcaire for King James until October 1690, when he surrendered it on very honourable terms.

The Stewarts of Appin narrowly escaped the same fate which befell their friends and neighbours, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, in the memorable massacre of 1692. There is a letter written by Lord Stair on the 7th January 1692, and signed by William III., to Sir Thomas Livingstone, Colonel Hamilton, and Colonel Hill, Governor of Inverlochy, informing them that the intention was "to destroy intearly the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, Apine, and Glenco;" and he adds, "I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners." Lord Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, remonstrated so strongly with William, that the order was withdrawn, though Lord Stair afterwards sought and found occasion to earn for himself his unenviable reputation by destroying the Glencoe men. A commission of inquiry into the massacre was granted on the 29th April 1695, and it was, perhaps, in

consequence of their highly condemnatory report, which was afterwards adopted by Parliament, that Robert Stewart of Appin was, in that year, named as a Commissioner of Supply for Argyllshire, possibly with the view of making some amends by thus officially recognising his position. In Queen Anne's Parliament of 1704 we find this appointment renewed.

About the year 1710 or 1712, the Macgregors had expelled a MacLaren from a farm in Balquidder, and the Chief of Appin marched with 200 men to the assistance of his old allies. The Macgregors also mustered in force, but were overawed, and submitted without bloodshed, saying that they were all one king's men, and should not fight.

On the 1st of August 1714, Robert Stewart of Appin was summoned to Edinburgh to give security that he would not join in any rising against the Government. He did not, however, obey the summons, and Campbell, captain of Castle Stalcaire, wrote his chief that "the Stewarts of Appin were preparing eighty more targets in addition to the great number they already had." Robert Stewart attended the famous hunting party of the Earl of Mar on the 27th August 1715, on the Braes of Mar. According to a History of Scotland published in Dublin in 1724, the names of those present were: "the Marquises of Huntly, Tulibardine, Seaforth and Drommond; the Earls of Marshall, Linlithgow, Southesk, Strathmore, and Broadalbin; the Lords Kilsyth, Strathallan, Rollo, Ogilvy, Pitsligo, and Duffus; the Lairds of Gengarry, Clanronald, Glenco, Appin, Innerytie, Garntully, Balcaskie, and many other gentlemen of the first and best families in the nation." In accordance with the engagement then entered into, the Chief of Appin took the field at the head of 250 men, and was present at the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir, on the 13th November. The Earl of Mar then fell back on Perth. The attempt to restore the house of Stewart was abandoned a few weeks later, and the Highlanders returned home. Robert Stewart was a second time attainted, and went abroad.

At the battle of Sheriffmuir the pipers of the clan played the March of the Stewarts, and hence it became known among the Perthshire Stewarts as the Sherra'muir March. According to the traditions of the clan, this march was played alike when they were marching to battle, and in honour of a victory. Particular mention is made of its having been played when Donald-nan-ord defeated the Earl of Menteith as the Stewarts were returning from the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and also at Inverlochy, Sheriffmuir, and Prestonpans, and it was recognised as the march peculiarly appertaining to the Stewarts, and played on all their incursions and forays. It is difficult to say when the Gaelic words of the present accompaniment were composed, as, in accordance with Highland custom, the clansmen were in the habit of marching, during the intervals of pipe music, to their own singing, and of improvising words as they stepped gaily along. The music, as played by the Perthshire Stewarts, assumed, in course of time, a somewhat different arrangement. Both versions, with translations of the Gaelic words, are given at the close of the history of the main stem of Appin.

It would appear that the clan took part in the attempt made by Lord Seaforth and Lord Tullibardine in 1719 for the cause of the Stewarts, a notice of which will be found at page 141. No evidence, however, exists to show that the chief himself returned from abroad to share in it; indeed, from all contemporaneous accounts, it would appear that but few chiefs of clans did so. Duncan Stewart, M.A., in his book written in 1730, but not published till 1739, records Robert as still living, but for obvious reasons makes as little allusion as possible to political matters, which, at the very time of publication, were again exciting an all-absorbing interest in the Highlands. Ardsheal's commission as colonel was signed in the year of the publication of the history; and there is thus little doubt that Robert's death had occurred between 1730 and 1739, though the destruction of the Appin MSS. leaves the exact date in doubt.

Robert Stewart married, first, a daughter of MacLeod of MacLeod, by whom he had issue : Duncan, who died at school ; Mary, married to Lachlan MacIachlan of MacIachlan ; and Anne, married to Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, by whom he had issue, one son, Dugald, who succeeded him, and six daughters : Isabel, married to Donald Macdonald of Kinloch Muidart ; Janet, married to Alastair Macdonald, eighteenth of Keppoch, who fell at Culloden ; Margaret, married to the Rev. John Stewart ; Katharine, married to Alexander Stewart, eighth of Invernahyle ; Anne, who died unmarried ; and Jean, who died young.

DUGALD STEWART, tenth of Appin, to whom the estate was restored, was a boy of tender years when Prince Charles unfurled the Royal Standard in Glenfinlas in 1745, and the clan was consequently led by the Tutor, Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal. President Forbes in 1740 estimated the number of men that would follow the Chief of Appin at three hundred, and he repeated that estimate in his report to the Government in 1744 ; but, with their followers, they now numbered about four hundred broadswords. We shall not here give any history of the fortunes of the clan during the campaign of 1745-6, as the account belongs more properly to the notice of Ardsheal, who commanded them with credit and honour.

Before, however, concluding the notice of Dugald, the last of the male descendants of Duncan, sixth of Appin, it may be proper to give here an account of the formation of the clan regiments in battle, which accounts for the very heavy loss of gentlemen which the Stewarts sustained at Culloden. Every regiment or clan was commanded by the chief, if of sufficient age, as colonel. The eldest cadet was lieutenant-colonel, and the next was major. Some clans in 1745 had the youngest cadet lieutenant-colonel, but this was looked upon as an innovation of the established principle. Each company had two captains, two lieutenants, and ensigns, and the first rank was composed of gentlemen,

who were all provided with targets, and were otherwise better armed than the rear. In the day of battle each company furnished two of their best men as a guard to the chief, and in their choice consanguinity was always considered. The chief was posted in the centre of the column beside the colours, and he stood between two brothers, cousins-german, or other relations. The common men were also disposed with regard to their relationship, the father, the son, and the brother standing beside each other. The effect which this "order of nature" must have had in stimulating the combatants to deeds of valour can be easily perceived. It did not escape the notice of the observant Tacitus.

Dugald, last baron of Appin, married Mary Mackenzie, by whom he had one daughter, Anna, married to David Loch of Over Carnbee, an eminent merchant in Leith. Having no male issue, Dugald sold in 1765 the estate of Appin to Mr Seton of Touch, and died in 1769. The representation of the Stewarts of Lorn and Appin then devolved upon the head of the family of Ardsheal, descended from John, second son of John, fifth baron of Appin.

David Loch's estate of Over Carnbee is in Fife, and in the account of "The East Neuk of Fife," written by the Rev. Walter Wood, D.D., we find at p. 219—"In 1780 died the proprietor of Over Carnbee, David Loch, who was long a merchant of eminence in Leith; and in 1776 was by the Trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements, appointed inspector-general of the woollen manufactures of Scotland, on which he published an essay, and afterwards inspector-general of fisheries. In 1774 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Edinburgh. His son John left a daughter, Jean, married to Alexander Murray, &c." In a marginal note, Dr Wood adds, "David Loch married Anna Stewart, the last in direct line of the family of Appin, who died in 1772."

The badges of the Stewarts were the Darag, or oak, and also the Cluaran, or thistle, the present national badge. The adoption of the

former, as not being an evergreen, was regarded by the Highlanders as an emblem of the fate of the Royal House.

INCHES.	COLOURS.
$\frac{1}{4}$	White.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Red.
1	Black.
4	Red.
8	Green.
1	Black.
1	White.
1	Black.
$\frac{1}{2}$	Yellow.
5	Black.
3	Azure.
16	Red.
3	Azure.
5	Black.
$\frac{1}{2}$	Yellow.
1	Black.
1	White.
1	Black.
2	Green.
4	Red.
1	Black.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Red.
1	White.

The tartan worn by the Stewarts of Appin is the well-known pattern commonly called the Royal Stewart, and the proportions of colours given in the margin are taken from Logan's "Scottish Gael."

A web of tartan is two feet two inches wide, at least within half an inch more or less, so that the size of the patterns makes no difference in the scale. Commencing at the head of the cloth, the depth of the colours is stated throughout a square, on which the scale must be reversed or gone through again to the commencement. There is, it may be observed, a particular colour in some patterns which can scarcely admit of description, but which is known to the Highlanders.

The following is the music of the Stewarts' March now usually played in Argyllshire, and the words are translated by the Rev. Alexander Stewart of Nether Lochaber, from the Argyll version of the song, as said to have been sung in 1644 when the clan and the Stewarts from Athole marched to Inverlochry :—

STEWARTS' MARCH, OR SHERIFFMUIR.



We will take the good old way,
We will take the good old way,
We'll take and keep the good old way,
Let them say their will, O !

Let Macintyres say what they may,
Let Macintyres say what they may,
We'll take and keep the good old way,
Let them say their will, O !

'Tis up the steep and heathery Ben,
Adown the bonny winding glen,
We march a band of loyal men,
Let them say their will, O !

We will march adown Glencoe,
We will march adown Glencoe,
By the Ferry we will go,
Let them say their will, O !

To Glengarry and Lochiel,
Loyal hearts with arms of steel,
These will back us in the field,
Let them say their will, O !

Cluny shall come down the brae,
Keppoch bold shall lead the way,
Toss thine antlers Caber Feigh,
Let them say their will, O !

Forward, sons of bold Rob Roy ;
 Stewarts, conflict is your joy !
 We'll stand together *pour le Roi*,
 Let them say their will, O !

In the Gaelic words the march or lyric begins—

Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mòr,
 Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mòr,
 Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mòr,
 Olc no math le càch e.

The arrangement of the music commonly played in Perthshire is as follows, and the words are translated by Mr Charles Stewart of Tighn'duin, from the words held by the Athole Stewarts to be the ancient version :—

GABHAIDH SINN AN RATHAD MOR.



We will up and march away,
 We will up and march away,
 We will up and march away,
 Daring let of all men.
 The heath-clad Ben we'll soon ascend,
 Through Glen Laoigh we'll soon descend,
 Our points of steel we'll swiftly send
 Thro' every loon that bars us.
 We will up, &c.

O'er the hills we'll speed along,
Through Glencoe unwearied on,
Our king the burden of our song,
Asking leave of no man.

We will up, &c.

To Glengarry and Lochiel,
Ever with us, true and leal ;
Keppoch, too, who seeks our weal,
Is there in spite of all men.

We will up, &c.

Macphersons come, in deeds not small,
M'Kenzies also at our call,
Whose battle-frenzy will appal
And fill our foes with awe then.

We will up, &c.

Macgregors, fierce when man to man,
Join with the Royal Stewart clan ;
Blow up the pipes, march proudly on,
Daring let of all men.

We will up, &c.



ARDSHEAL.

THE male line of Duncan Stewart, sixth baron of Appin, failing in the person of Dugald, tenth baron, the representation of the family devolved upon the descendants of John Stewart of Ardsheal, immediate younger brother of Duncan, and to the descent of the family of Ardsheal we now turn.

JOHN STEWART, first of Ardsheal, was second son of John, fifth baron of Appin, born of his second wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Muidart. He received from his father the lands of Ardsheal, a name derived from the two Gaelic words, Ard-scallaidh, the height or point of view, a name rendered very appropriate to the locality by the eminence behind the mansion. It was at that time the custom for young men of family to be trained to arms and courtesy in the households of the great nobles. After receiving the best education the times could afford, John's name and blood obtained for him the privilege of entering the household of the king's cousin, Lodovick, second Duke of Lennox. The high appointments held by the Duke as High Chamberlain and Admiral of Scotland, and Ambassador to France in 1601, brought Ardsheal much to Court, and he became a highly accomplished gentleman. About this time his relative and neighbour, Lochiel, was the ward in chivalry of the Marquess of Argyll.

John Stewart married Mary, daughter of Macdonald of Keppoch, Alastair n' an Cleas, and left two sons.

1. DUNCAN, his successor.

2. ALEXANDER.

DUNCAN STEWART, second of Ardsheal, succeeded his father. An old family MS. informs us that "he was steadfast in his loyalty to Charles I., and served in 1644 and 1645 as an officer of the Appin regiment with the Marquis of Montrose, acquiring the favour of his heroic general by his zeal in the royal cause, and by his active intelligence."

DUNCAN STEWART married, first, Anne, daughter of John Stewart of Lettershuna, brother of Donald Stewart, fifth of Invernahyle, and had two sons and four daughters—

1. JOHN, his successor.

2. ALEXANDER, who was killed, as before-mentioned, at the attack on the church of Dunkeld, after the battle of Killiecrankie, having married a daughter of Alexander Stewart of Ballachelish, by whom he had three sons—

1. JOHN STEWART of Acharn, who had by his wife Ann, daughter of Campbell of Dunstaffnage—

1. ALEXANDER STEWART of Acharn, who had two sons, both killed at Culloden.

2. JOHN GLAS STEWART, who acquired the estate of Benmore in Perthshire, and who was killed, with his two nephews above mentioned, at Culloden, leaving, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of John, fourth of Ardsheal, a son and daughter—

1. JOHN STEWART, who acquired the estate of Glenbuckie by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie, and died without issue. The Stewarts of Glenbuckie were descended from John, second son of William Stewart of Balddoran, grandson of Lord James Stewart, who was son of Murdoch, second Duke of Albany.

2. ELIZABETH STEWART, afterwards of Glenbuckie, who died unmarried.

By his second marriage with Catharine, daughter of M^cNab of Innischewan, John Glas Stewart had—

3. DUNCAN, a captain in the Western Regt. of Fencible men, who afterwards acquired, from his half-sister Elizabeth, the estate of Glenbuckie. His first wife, Susannah, daughter of Captain Campbell of Kilberry, having died without issue, he married, secondly, Margaret, second daughter of Duncan Stewart, sixth of Ardsheal, by whom he had issue two sons and daughters—

1. JOHN LORN STEWART of Coll, who died in 1878, leaving issue by his wife, Mary Campbell—

1. Duncan Stewart, Commander R.N., who married Ferooza, daughter of the Right Honourable Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B., and has issue—Lorn M'Neill Stewart, Florence, Archibald who died in infancy, Duncan Archibald, Elisabeth Mary, Charles Edward, Crawford, and Ferooza Stewart ; 2. Archibald, died unmarried ; 3. John Lorn Stewart of Coll, Major 18th Hussars ; also 4. Mary, married to D.

Fox Tarratt of Ellary, with issue—Joseph Fox, William Archibald, and Mary Caroline Campbell Tarratt; and 5. Helen, married to William A. Campbell of Ormsary, and has issue.

2. DUNCAN STEWART, who went to Lima, and married a Spanish lady, sister of the wife of his maternal uncle William, and had issue—Duncan, William, and Carlos.
2. DUNCAN STEWART, second son of Alexander Stewart, killed at Dunkeld in 1689, was thrice married. By his first marriage he had one son, who survived him; and by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Donald Maclean of Ardgour, he had four sons—
 1. ALLAN, of whom was the Rev. John Stewart of Inverness.
 2. DUNCAN, killed at Dunkeld.
 3. JAMES, who died unmarried.
 4. WILLIAM, who left issue, now extinct.

Also a daughter, Moir, married to John Stewart, sixth of Fasnacloich.

Duncan's third wife was a daughter of Maclean of Coll, but by her he had no issue. From Donald Maclean of Ardgour, Duncan got a charter, to be seen among the confirmations under the Great Seal, in the Register House at Edinburgh, of the lands of Glengalmadale and Stron.

Duncan Stewart, second of Ardsheal, had also four daughters—1. , married to Macdonald of Killiechonan; 2. , married to John Stewart, third of Ballachelish; 3. Isabel, married to James Stewart, fifth of Fasnacloich; and 4. , married to MacLachlan of Cregan.

JOHN STEWART, third of Ardsheal, succeeded his father Duncan.

The following memorandum, found amongst the Ardsheal papers, illustrates the state of the laws and customs in Scotland at that period:—

“Upon the forfeiture of the Earl of Argyll in the 1685, Sir James Stewart, Sheriff, afterwards Earl, of Bute, that was married to Sir George M'Kenzie's daughter, Lord Advocate to King James VII., got a gift of the estate of Barbreck, which was forfeited as vassal of Argyll, but Bute finding it very troublesome to apprehend possession of that estate in the heart of the Argyllshire Campbells, applied to John Stewart (third) of Ardsheal for his assistance to facilitate his entry to these lands. Ardsheal accordingly having the command of the country in Appin's minority, sent a number of armed men, commanded by his own brothers, and carried off a considerable number of cattle from that estate in lieu of the rents; and afterwards, in the year 1687, Ardsheal in person appre-

hended possession of the Barbreck estate, and carried with him Achnacone, and a number of the Commoners who occupied farms upon the estate, till the Revolution in November 1688. In February 1689, they were obliged to abandon it and return home with what they could carry of their effects, suffering considerable loss." The Laird of Barbreck raised an action at law against Ardsheal for loss and damage caused by carrying off the cattle, and it was not finally settled till 1742, Ardsheal being held not liable for any repayment.

As nearest of kin to Robert, ninth baron of Appin, then a minor, John Stewart of Ardsheal was Tutor, and leader of the clan, an honour which, for the like reason, devolved on his grandson, who was Tutor to Dugald, last of Appin, in 1745. In this capacity he took an active part in raising the Western Clans to meet Dundee, the Appin Stewarts and the Macnaghtons being, according to Macaulay, the only clans under arms to meet Dundee when he arrived at Inverlochy in 1689, to confer with Lochiel. It was for this reason that he had withdrawn his men from the occupation of Barbreck. In the Scots Acts of Parliament of 1689, we find that John Campbell of Airds, no doubt with the Barbreck episode fresh in his recollection, presented a petition, stating that the Tutor of Appin was a very active man against all that bore the name of Campbell, and had seized upon the castle of Eilan Stalcaire, which ought not to be in the hands of such a disaffected person; whereupon the Parliament gave the said John Campbell authority to summon certain companies of soldiers to expel the Tutor and his men, if they still refused to evacuate the castle peaceably. Ardsheal had seized the castle for King James as Tutor of his chief, who was still hereditary keeper of the castle for the king, although the actual proprietorship had, as has been before narrated, passed into the hands of the family of Campbell of Airds. On the 11th of May 1690, Colonel Hill, governor of Inverlochy Castle, wrote to the Laird of Weem (Menzies) enjoining him to be very strict with the Tutor of Appin, as he might be "apt to be blowne up with storyes, and might think to stand out still." On the 28th of August in the same year, Colonel Hill again wrote Menzies that the Tutor still held Castle Stalcaire. From Sir Ewen Cameron's Memoirs, we learn that Ardsheal continued to hold Castle Stalcaire against the main body of "Argile's men till the October following, when he yielded on very honourable terms."

It is doubtful if Ardsheal and the main body of the Appin men were present at the battle of Killiecrankie. There is evidence enough to show that the young chief, Robert of Appin, was there with a little over a hundred of the clan, and the probability seems to be, that Ardsheal and the main body did not arrive till two days after the battle. None of the witnesses examined by the Scots Parliament deposed that they saw him with Dundee's army before the battle, and James Osburne swore that he saw the Tutor join before they went to Dunkeld, and that he was with them afterwards till the army dispersed.

JOHN STEWART, third of Ardsheal, married Anne, daughter of Colin Campbell of Lochnell, and had issue—

1. JOHN, who succeeded him.
2. DUNCAN.
3. ALLAN.
4. JAMES.

Also three daughters—1. Anne, married first to Lachlan Maclachlan of Fassifern, by whom she had issue, and secondly to Dougal Campbell of Glenfeochan, by whom she had five sons; 2. Janet, married to John Stewart, eighth of Glenbuckie; 3. Isabel, married to Duncan, son of James Stewart, fifth of Fasnacloich, and had issue.

JOHN STEWART, fourth of Ardsheal, succeeded his father. He was summoned to Edinburgh in 1714, with his chief, Robert Stewart of Appin, to give security that he would not join in any rising in favour of the Chevalier de St George. He did not obey the summons, and served with the Appin regiment under the Earl of Mar at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. His estates were consequently forfeited, but were restored in 1717. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Stewart, eighth of Ballechin in Athole, and had issue—

1. CHARLES, who succeeded him.
2. JOHN.

Also five daughters—1. Anne, married to Alexander Stewart, fourth of Ballachelish; 2. Helen, married to Allan Cameron of Callart; 3. Isabel, married to Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe; 4. Margaret, married to John Glas Stewart of Benmore; 5. Janet, who died unmarried.

CHARLES STEWART, fifth of Ardsheal, succeeded his father. He was a man of great personal strength, and accounted one of the best swordsmen in the Highlands. In an encounter with Rob Roy in Balquidder he wounded the celebrated freebooter, who threw his sword into Lochvoil, exclaiming that it was the first time it had failed him, and that Ardsheal was the first man who had drawn blood from him. It is said that the result of this combat aided him in his suit for the hand of his future wife, the daughter of Haldane of Lanrick.

No records remain of Ardsheal's life before 1739, as most of the family papers were destroyed or lost on the sacking of the house at Ardsheal on the night of the 15th to 16th December 1746, as will be afterwards related. It is known, however, that he was an enthusiastic Jacobite, keeping up an active correspondence with the Court of the Chevalier at Fontainebleau and Rome, and that in 1739 he received a commission as Colonel from King James, which is still in possession of the family, and of which the following is a copy:—

“James the Eighth, By the Grace of God King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.—To our Trusty and well-beloved Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, Esquire, Greeting. We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your loyalty,

courage, and good conduct, Do hereby constitute and appoint you a Colonel in our Forces, and to take your rank in our Army from the date hereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to Discharge the Duty and Trust of Colonel aforesaid, by doing and performing everything belonging thereto: And We hereby Require, all and sundry, our Forces to Respect and obey you as such, and yourself to observe and follow all such Orders, Directions, and Commands as you shall from time to time receive from us, our General and Commander-in-Chief of our Forces for the time being, or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War: In pursuance of the Trust reposed in you, Given at our Court at Rome, This 20th Day of May 1739, In the 38th year of Our Reign. J. R."

Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, being a man of energy and ability, and Tutor to the Chief, who was a minor, took, together with Lochiel and Glengarry, a leading part for years in the correspondence with Prince Charles as to his prospects of success in the event of his coming to Scotland to assert by arms his father's right to the Crown. In 1745 Ardsheal, at the head of the Appin regiment, joined Prince Charles Edward at Low Bridge in the Great Glen. In a narrative, written apparently soon after 1746, Andrew Henderson says: "The Stewarts of Appin, ever zealous for the royal cause, joined the Chevalier under Stewart of Ardsheal, a gentleman of good parts, though misapplied." Lord Elcho, one of the attainted lords, says in his account of the campaign, that Stewart of Ardsheal was one of the Council who met with Prince Charles every morning.

In a memorandum as to the Highland clans, sent to the King of France when he was computing the chances of the success of an expedition to Scotland, and the number of men who would take the field in support of the Royal Stuarts, we find the following:—"The Stewarts of Appin and M'Naughtons have still been loyal to the Kings Charles I. and II., and King James VII., and were in the fields for them. They may raise, of very good men, 500." The Appin regiment seems generally to have been a little over 300 men, including those of the name of Stewart, and their retainers who occupied crofts under them in Appin, chiefly of the names of M'Coll, Carmichael, M'Combich, M'Innes, M'Lea or Livingstone, M'Intyre, and M'Cormack or Buchanan. Their staunch allies the M'Larens also sent a contingent, which formed a valuable part of the regiment. In a "Life of the Duke of Cumberland" they are only stated at 200 strong when they marched southward from Edinburgh. This, however, is a low estimate, as in no other account are they put at so small a number. In the list of Prince Charles' troops in November 1745, are "the Appin men, 360, under Stewart of Ardsheal."

At the battle of Preston Pans, on 21st September 1745, the Camerons formed the extreme left of the Highland army. Next to them, and opposed to Lascelles' regiment, were the Stewarts of Appin, supported by 120 of their neighbours and hereditary friends the Macdonalds of Glenceo, whose chief was brother-in-law to Ardsheal. The Camerons

and Stewarts were drawn up somewhat in advance of the clans on their right, and were thus the first to encounter the enemy. They were opposed to Sir John Cope's artillery, which they captured, Stewart of Invernahyle taking prisoner Colonel Whitefoord after he had fired off five of the six field pieces with his own hand. Four officers of Prince Charles' army were killed, and amongst them was "Captain Robert Stewart of Ardsheal's battalion."

On the 20th December 1745, Macpherson of Clunie wrote to a friend, describing the engagement of the rear of the Highland army with the Duke of Cumberland's troops at Clifton three days previously. He says that the Duke took them by surprise, accompanied by more than 3000 horse, and "when he appeared there happened to be no more of our army at hand than Glengarry's, Stewart of Appin's, and my own regiment. Glengarry's regiment was planted at the back of a stone wall on our right, the Appin regiment in the centre, and mine on the left, lining a hedge." The Duke's troops were repulsed with considerable loss, the Stewarts, Clunie says, coming off without the loss of a man.

At the battle of Falkirk, 17th January 1746, the Appin men, 300 in number, were in the centre of the first line, according to Charles' History, but Home's sketch of the field, which is more likely to be correct, places them on the extreme left, next the Camerons. They were one of the few regiments charged by Hawley's dragoons, whom they decisively repulsed. Ardsheal was one of the chiefs who, after a Council of War on the 29th January, signed a recommendation to Prince Charles to continue his retreat to the north from Falkirk.

At the battle of Culloden, 16th April 1746, the first line of the Highland army, enumerating from right to left, consisted of the Athole men, the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, Frasers, M'Intoshes, MacIachlans, Macleans, Roy Stewart's regiment, Farquharson's, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. The position assigned to the Macdonalds on the left, instead of on the right, an honour which they claimed to be theirs by hereditary right, contributed greatly to the loss of this battle, as the pride of the haughty clan was deeply wounded. The right wing—the Athole, Lochiel, and Appin regiments—were opposed by Barrel's and Monro's regiments, which were supported on the left flank by cavalry, and on the right by artillery; Woolf's and Blakeney's regiments being drawn up in two lines in rear of the interval between Monro's and Burrell's. All accounts of the battle state that the regiments on the right of the Prince's army rushed to the attack with heroic valour. The Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland says that Lord George Murray on the right, seeing that his division could be restrained no longer, ordered them to advance, which they did with a shout. In spite of the shower of grape shot which met their advance, the clansmen pressed on, and broke through Monro's and Barrel's regiments, capturing two cannon. Not content with this, they continued their advance till it was checked by the second line, which was drawn up as if to repel cavalry, the first

rank kneeling, the second stooping over the first, and the third standing upright. Such a destructive fire was poured upon the Highlanders, that their advance was checked, and the survivors compelled to retire ; but so determined had been the attack, and so vigorous and effective the repulse, that the Highlanders were found, when the strife was over, heaped on each other three and four deep.

One, who signs himself "An Eye Witness to most of the Facts," writing in 1748, says : "Those on the right (Stewarts and Camerons), with their glittering swords, ran swiftly on the cannon, making a dreadful huzza, and crying, 'Run ye dogs.' They broke between the grenadiers of Barrel and Monroe, who had given them fire when at the muzzles of their guns. When within two yards of the cannon they received a discharge of cartridge shot, while those who crowded into the opening made by the havoc received a full fire from the centre of Bligh's. They who survived possessed themselves of the cannon, and attacked the regiments sword in hand ; but Wolf's and Fleming's wheeled to the left of Barrel's, with Bligh's and Semple's, and made such a continued fire on their front and flank, that nearly all the right wing which broke in were killed or wounded." In his account of the battle of Culloden, the desperate valour of the clans moved Lord Mahon out of his usual composure to an unwonted swell of sympathetic eloquence. "Nowhere," he says, "not by their forefathers at Bannockburn, not by themselves at Preston and Falkirk, not in after years, when discipline had raised and refined the valour of their sons, not on the shores of the Nile, not on that other field of victory, where their gallant chief, with a prophetic shroud (it is their own superstition) high on his breast, addressed to them only these three words, '*Highlanders, remember Egypt*,'—not in those hours of triumph and glory was displayed a more firm and resolute bravery than now in this defeat of Culloden." But for the unfortunate affront to the numerous and gallant clan of the Macdonalds in placing them on the left wing, in place of on the right, an honour which they have claimed since the battle of Bannockburn, the disastrous defeat might have been a victory. Charles puts the number of the Appin regiment at Culloden at 300, and Chambers says they suffered more than any other of the Highland clans. Andrew Henderson writes "that the regiments"—those from Athole, Appin, and Lochiel,—"opposed to Barrel and Monroe broke through the first line with irresistible fury, but received a terrible discharge from cannon ; they possessed themselves of the guns, but it was impossible to hold them, and being attacked in the flank, they had to retreat." The regimental colour borne by the Stewarts of Appin at Culloden is still in the possession of the head of the Ballachelish branch of the family. It is of light blue silk, with a yellow saltire, or cross of St Andrew, the dimensions being 5 feet hoist, with a fly of 6 feet 7 inches. Its gallant bearer, one of the Ardsheal family, was killed, and the banner is stained with his blood. It bears the marks of having been torn from the colour staff, which accords with M'Ian's account that, when the standard-bearer was slain, one of the

corps, called Mac an t-ledh, from Morven, tore it from the staff, and wrapping it round his body, made good his retreat from the field. The banner thus escaped the fate of those of twelve Highland clans, which were taken at Culloden, and burned at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on the 6th June following.

There is a list in the possession of Alexander Stewart, now of Achnacone, of the Appin men killed and wounded at Culloden, of which the following is an abstract, the detailed list being given in the appendix :—

	Killed.	Wounded.
Cousins of Appin (natural),	1	1
Ardsheal's family,	8	3
Achnacone's,	2	0
Fasnacloich's,	2	4
Invernahyle's,	3	8
Ballachelish,	1	4
Stewarts, followers of Appin,	5	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	22	25
Commoners, followers of Appin, forming the rank and file of the regiment,	69	40
Gentleman volunteer, George Haldane, nephew to Lanrick, Ardsheal being married to Lanrick's sister,	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	92	65

This large number of casualties fully justifies Chambers' remark previously quoted. The number of officers and gentlemen of the family killed and wounded, amounting to forty-seven out of a total of between fifty and sixty, seems quite disproportionate till we recollect the order of battle of the Highlanders, previously given. The proud feeling of kindred with "Charlie," as they fondly called the Prince, would also lead these gentlemen to venture all things on this decisive day.

After the battle of Culloden the clan dispersed, and though Lochiel and Ardsheal endeavoured to rally the Western clans, and hold possession of Lochaber, they never drew to a head again. Amongst those attainted of high treason on the 8th June 1746, were "Stewart of Ardsheal, and the other officers of the Stewarts." Haldane of Lanrick and his sons, who served in the campaign as major and captain of a body of Perthshire horse, were also attainted, and when the Act of Indemnity was passed in 1747, both Ardsheal and his friends the Haldanes were excepted from its benefit. Before escaping to France, Ardsheal wished to see his family, and succeeded in reaching Appin, where he

lay concealed in a cave, still called Ardsheal's cave, on the hill of Ardsheal, being generally supplied with food by a little maiden, the daughter of one of his tenants, who daily drove out a few lambs to the hill, and watched her opportunity of communicating with her hidden chief. The district was occupied by English soldiers, and the peasantry were all acquainted with Ardsheal's hiding-place, but, regardless of the rewards offered for his capture, they were faithful to the trust reposed in them. After a few weeks' concealment in the cave, Ardsheal found an opportunity of escaping to France. In a Scots Magazine of the period, we find a paragraph stating that on the 17th September 1746, Stewart of Ardsheal, and four other gentlemen, got on board a French ship, and escaped pursuit. Meanwhile the estate had been confiscated and given up to plunder, though the hardships thus brought upon Ardsheal's wife and children, seem, from the following letter, to have been for a short time mitigated by the humanity of the officer in command :—

APPIN, *May 25th*, 1746.

"MADAM,

"Your misfortune and the unhappy situation Ardsheal has brought you, and your innocent children into, by being so deeply concerned in this unjust and unnatural rebellion, makes my heart aik. I know the King to be compassionate and merciful. I know the brave Duke under whose command and orders I act, to have as much humanity as any man on earth, from which and my own natural inclination I have taken the liberty of *ordering back* your Milk Cows, six Wethers, and as many Lambs, the men who pretend a right to them shall be paid. I have taken the freedom at the same time of ordering two Bolls of Meal out of my own stores to be left here for you, which I desire you to accept for the use of yourself and little ones, and if what I write can have any weight, I must earnestly entreat you to bring up your children to be good subjects to his Majesty. I wish your husband, by surrendering himself to the Duke of Cumberland, had given me an opportunity of recommending him to his Majesty's mercy. I feel for you, and am, MADAM, your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

"To the LADY ARDSHEAL.

"Post free from JOHN CAMPBELL, Major-General."

General Campbell had judged of the merciful disposition of the Duke of Cumberland from his own humane feelings; but in December of the same year Ardsheal House was sacked, and "the Lady Ardsheal," compelled to flee for refuge to a hut. From this also she was driven, the very night after her confinement, to seek, with her new-born infant, and five children, another shelter from the falling snow.

After many trials and dangers, she succeeded in obtaining passage to France, where she rejoined her husband. They settled at Sens, in Champagne, where their life, though no

doubt troubled at times by political hopes and fears, seems to have been of a peaceful and patriarchal character. Contributions in the name of rent, in addition to that paid to the Crown receiver, were regularly remitted to Ardsheal by his old tenants, and he was thus enabled to dispense hospitality and render assistance to the West Highland gentlemen around him, who were less favourably situated. Letters still in possession of the family, from James Edgar, private secretary to James VIII., the Cardinal de Luynes, the Archbishop of Sens, and others, attest the high consideration in which Ardsheal was held by his own Sovereign, and by Louis XV., as well as the regard and esteem felt for him in the locality in which his exile and the latter years of his life were spent. His own king referred to him the petitions of the distressed Highlanders, or sought from him particulars of their respective claims and hopes; the Archbishop of Sens and other neighbouring magnates gave him the privilege of the chase over their respective domains.

Further trials, however, were in store for him. Campbell of Glenure had been appointed receiver of the rents of the confiscated estate, and, possibly on account of the tenantry continuing to send a second rent of their lands to their exiled laird, he began to remove the old occupants, and to give their farms to dependants of his own. In consequence of this harsh and unjust conduct, Glenure was shot on the 14th May 1752, near Ballachelish, it is supposed by Donald Breck Stewart, who fled the country, after having at first sought shelter with his relatives near Invercomrie in Perthshire.

Campbell's death gave occasion to a somewhat remarkable trial. James Stewart of Acharn, the agent through whom the rents were collected and transmitted, was arrested, and tried at Inveraray as being an accessory to his death. At the trial he was described as reputed to be a natural brother of Charles of Ardsheal, but this seems more than doubtful. The descent of the Stewarts of Acharn has been already clearly given, and James Stewart was on intimate terms with the sisters of Ardsheal and their husbands, as proved at the trial. He held certain farms under Ardsheal, and having espoused and upheld the cause of the tenants threatened with eviction, was marked by the Campbells for vengeance. The Duke of Argyll, as Lord Justiciary of the county, presided at the trial, and eleven members of the jury were Campbells; two others of the name, much to their honour, refusing to sit on a jury so composed for the trial of a Stewart and a Jacobite. James Stewart was convicted, and condemned to be hanged where Glenure was shot. He may, perhaps, have been aware of Donald Breck's intention, but the composition of the jury, the social position of the prisoner,—for it was shown that he was quite in the rank of the gentry of the country,—and the harshness with which he was treated by the President of the Court, created an impression of injustice, which is not even yet forgotten in Appin and Lochaber. The London *Evening Post* of 5th December 1752, noticed the trial in the following remarkable words:—"We are informed by a

private letter that the ancient animosity between the Stewarts and the Campbells is likely to revive on the score of hanging James Stewart at Ballachelish, on account of the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure. The circumstance of trying James Stewart at Inverary, the seat of the d—— of A——, is what his friends fix upon to convince the world that he was harshly and unjustly condemned."

The Duke of Argyll's remark when passing sentence on James Stewart, clearly shows how far the verdict had been influenced by political considerations. He said, "Your clan did in the year 1719 again rise in rebellion, unmindful of their lives and fortunes having been granted them only two years previously, and assisted a foreign enemy in invasion." It is needless to remark upon the irrelevancy of the participation of the clan in a political attempt made thirty-three years before, with the specific question of Acharn's guilt or innocence of the murder of Glenure, but the Duke's statement, which, from his local knowledge, is probably true, is of some little historical value, as it points to the Stewarts having been engaged in the rising of 1719, of which but few particulars have been preserved.

In 1718 the Duke of Ormond, with the Scots Earl Marischall and his brother, afterwards Marshal Keith, had concerted with Cardinal Alberoni an invasion of Scotland, where they expected to be joined by all the adherents of the exiled Royal family. In March 1719 the expedition sailed, and early in May a part of it, after being some time at Stornoway, landed on the shores of Loch Alsh. The whole forces originally consisted of about 6000 troops, chiefly Irish, with arms for 10,000 or 12,000 men. The main portion of the fleet, commanded by the Duke of Ormond, sailed from Cadiz, but it was dispersed by a storm off Cape Finisterre, and never joined the rest of the expedition, which comprised two frigates, having on board the Earls Marischall and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, 307 Spaniards, and arms for 2000 men. The Spanish officer in command was unwilling to land, finding that only a few Highlanders made their appearance, but he was at last prevailed on to do so by the Scottish nobles. They seized Eilan Donan Castle, an ancient stronghold of the Earls of Ross, and subsequently of the Mackenzies, which they garrisoned with 50 men, with the intention of holding it till they were supported. The fire of three Government vessels, however, soon made the fortalice untenable, and the Highlanders withdrew to the more advantageous position of Strachell, where they heard of the dispersing of the main expedition by the storm.

General Wightman had marched from Inverness with a much superior force of troops, and attacked the Highlanders on the 18th June. The latter held their position for more than three hours, till the advance of the artillery among the defiles of the mountains warned them to disperse, but not until they had inflicted upon the military a loss of 21 killed and upwards of 120 wounded. Lord Seaforth and Lord Tullibardine were wounded, but were carried off by the Highlanders, whose loss was never accurately ascertained,

The Spaniards, who had remained at Glenshiel, without taking part in the engagement, surrendered next day, and this terminated the invasion.

But to return to the fortunes of Ardsheal. As a result of Glenure's evictions ensued the failure of the income which Charles had for many years derived from the "Laird's dues" so long and so honourably remitted to him by his old tenants, and he became, for a time, indebted to the bounty of the Chevalier, who sent him from Rome 500 livres, promising, at the same time, to recommend him to the French King. Louis XV., in consequence, apportioned to him, out of the 40,000 francs annually granted by the French Treasury in aid of the Scotch refugees, a pension of 3000 francs, with many complimentary expressions; and one half of this sum was continued to his widow, who was unable to obtain payment of her jointure upon the Ardsheal estate, or of her settlement upon Lanrick, though both deeds had been executed before either estate was forfeited. Eventually, on 14th January 1767, Isobel Haldane or Stewart—her brothers having died in 1761 and 1764, and her father in 1765—was retoured heir portioner general to her father, John Haldane of Lanrick.

Isobel Haldane, to whom, at the age of nineteen, Ardsheal was married in 1732, was the youngest child of John Haldane of Lanrick. Robert Stewart of Appin, the chief of the clan, had, since 1716, been under attainder and in exile, and Ardsheal thus found himself the representative of the family in the Highlands. Married to one who was thus—not only by hereditary politics, but by circumstances—deeply implicated in the enterprise of attempting to restore "the King over the water," Isobel at once took a high position among the Jacobite families of the Western Highlands. She was descended from a Danish family, which had settled on the borders of Scotland, and a younger son of which had acquired, in the twelfth century, extensive possessions in Perthshire by a marriage with the heiress of Gleneagles. About 1650 the Lanrick portion of the estate was conferred upon a younger son, Patrick, whose son John, the father of Isobel, was out both in 1715 and 1745, serving in the latter campaign as first major and commandant of a squadron of cavalry raised in Perthshire. As has been already mentioned, he was excepted from the amnesty, and a Bill found against him and his eldest son, who had also served as a captain in his father's squadron. After Ardsheal's death, his widow removed to the neighbourhood of Paris, so as to be near her aged father, who was also in exile. She returned to England in 1779, for the treatment of the dropsy from which she had for some time been suffering, and died at Northampton. The epitaph on her tomb in the Church of All Saints, in that town, gives much of the story of her eventful life:—

In Diversorio cursum finivit honestum

ISABELLA HALDANE,

JOANNIS HALDANE de Lanrick Filia,

CAROLI STEWART de Ardsheal Vidua,
 Cui in vicibus vitæ difficillimis
 Pectus profecto bene preparatum.
 Bello enim plus quam civili,
 Domo a militibus spoliata et eversa,
 In casâ pauperculâ parturire
 Nocteque etiam proximâ
 Liberis comitata tenellis
 Per nires fugere coacta est innocens.
 Post amoris exilique annos undecim
 Vidua in re tenui relicta
 Numerosam aluit prolem
 Operaque indefessâ fauste stabilivit.
 Denique dirâ laborans hydrope
 Ictus matri senili gravissimos
 Piâ fortitudine iteratos excepit.
 Confidebat etenim se Liberos optimos
 Paululum prægressos
 In coelis iterum visuram.
 Infestis igitur Viator
 Ne nimium trepida
 Vincat iter durum Pietas
 Obiit 8 Aprilis 1782
 Anno Ætatis 69.

The following is a translation by Mr Ffytche of Thorpe Hall :—

ISABELLA HALDANE,
 Daughter of JOHN HALDANE of Lanrick,
 Widow of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal,
 In an hostel finished an honourable career,
 Whose breast was indeed well prepared
 By the most arduous vicissitudes of life,
 For in a worse than civil war,
 Her house plundered and overthrown by soldiers,
 Innocent she was compelled to give birth to her babe
 In a poor and mean hut,
 And on the next night to flee through the snow
 Accompanied by her young and tender children.

After eleven years of love and exile,
 Being left a widow in straightened circumstances,
 She brought up, and, by unwearied labour,
 Happily settled a numerous progeny.
 At length, suffering under a severe dropsy,
 She endured with pious fortitude its reiterated
 Attacks, most grievous to an aged matron,
 For she trusted that she should again in Heaven
 See her innocent children who had a short
 While gone before her.
 In adversity, therefore, O traveller, be not
 Too much dismayed,
 Piety may surmount a rugged road.
 She died 8th of April 1782,
 In the 69th year of her age.

Charles Stewart of Ardsheal died at Sens on the 15th March 1757, leaving by his wife, Isobel Haldane, six sons—

1. JOHN, who died young.
2. ALEXANDER, who commanded "The Duke of Albany," East Indiaman, and died at Bencoolen in 1769.
3. DUNCAN, afterwards of Ardsheal, of whom hereafter.
4. JOHN, who succeeded his brother in the command of "The Duke of Albany."
5. CHARLES, who died in Jamaica in 1767.
6. JAMES JOSEPH ANDREW ORMAND, who entered the East India Company's service. Of these six sons Duncan only was married.

Also four daughters.

1. MARGARET, who was married to George Johnstone of Cowhill, Dumfriesshire, and had issue—
 1. WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, who was an officer in the army and died in America.
 3. CHARLES JAMES JOHNSTONE, Vice-Admiral of the Red, of whom hereafter.
 4. GEORGE MILLIGAN JOHNSTONE, died unmarried.
 5. ALEXANDER CARRUTHERS JOHNSTONE, married Cecilia Anne Wright, and had issue—Isabella, married to E. Punier; Frances, married to T. Punier; Margaret, married to F. Pigou; Cecilia, married to A.

Pigou ; and George Liddell Johnstone, M.A., Chaplain to the British Embassy at Vienna.

Also a daughter, ISABELLA CLEMENTINA, married to William Key, merchant, London, and had issue—General George William Key, Colonel of 15th Hussars ; and Captain Charles Hugh Key, deceased.

Admiral Charles James Johnstone married, first, Sybella Frances Scott, and had issue, of whom survived infancy—

1. MARGARET EUPHEMIA, married to N. Hollingsworth, and died 1876.
2. SYBELLA HARRIET, died 1825, unmarried.
3. PHCEEE DE COURCY, married to Colonel Lyon of Dalruskin, and has issue.
4. ELLEN, died 1878, unmarried.
5. CECILIA HENRIETTA, married to the late Major James, H.E.C.S., and has one son.
6. CATHERINE ANNE ELLIOT, married to General Harley Maxwell of Portrack.

Admiral Johnstone married secondly, in 1826, Lilius, daughter of Captain Macalpine, 78th Highlanders, and had issue—

7. GEORGE JAMES JOHNSTONE, Captain in the R.E.I.C.S., died in 1857, unmarried.
8. CHARLES JOHNSTONE, Colonel, Royal Artillery, born 9th August 1829, married Anne, daughter of A. E. Peterson, and has issue—
 1. Andrew Peterson ; 2. Charles James ; 3. William St Clair ; 4. Lillian.
9. WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, who purchased Cowhill on the death of his father, born 18th March 1831, married, first, Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of the late Hon. J. Thomason, Governor of the North-West Provinces, India, by whom he had issue—1. James Thomason Johnstone, Lieutenant, Royal Artillery ; 2. Harley Macalpine. He married, secondly, Eleanor Jean, daughter of C. H. Mackillop, late Bengal Civil Service, and has issue—3. Leila ; 4. Violet Mary ; 5. Dorcas Stewart.
2. ELIZABETH, who died young.
3. ANNE, who was born the night after the sacking of Ardsheal House, and was married to Dr Robert Graham of Balchapel and Leckie, and had issue, eleven children—
 1. JAMES LENNOX GRAHAM, died unmarried.
 2. CHARLES ALEXANDER GRAHAM-MOIR of Leckie, who married Henrietta,

daughter of Robert Hay of Drumelzier, and had issue, besides three daughters—Janet Erskine, Anne Stewart (dead), and Isabella Matilda—a son—

ROBERT GRAHAM MOIR, who married Anne Elizabeth, daughter of William Hay of Dunse Castle, and died, leaving issue, a son, Alastair Erskine Graham Moir, and four daughters, Henrietta Florence Mary, Evelyn Annie, Marion Clementina, and Mabel Christian Hay.

3. ISABELLA, died young.
4. ISABELLA, died unmarried.
5. CATHERINE, died unmarried.
6. JAMES, died unmarried.
7. ANNE, died unmarried.
8. CLEMENTINA, died unmarried.
9. ROBERT GRAHAM, M.D., who married Elizabeth Belsches, second daughter of David Carrick Buchanan of Drumpellier, and had issue seven sons and six daughters, viz.: 1. Elizabeth, married to Henry Bellingham, and left issue, Henrietta Elizabeth Belsches Graham; 2. Robert Graham of Coldock, Blair Drummond; 3. David, died unmarried; 4. Anne; 5. Charles, died unmarried; 6. Margaret, died unmarried; 7. Jane, married to Colonel Godby, Royal Artillery, and has issue, Elizabeth, Frances, Charles, Robert, and Clement; 8. James Andrew, died in infancy; 9. Mary, died unmarried; 10. James Andrew, died in infancy; 11. Catherine Belsches; 12. Buchanan, died unmarried; 13. John, died young.
10. JANE STEWART, died unmarried.
11. JOHN GEORGE, died unmarried.
4. CLEMENTINA ELIZABETH MARIA HENRIETTA, married to John Graham of Micklewood, Stirlingshire, but had no issue.

DUNCAN STEWART, sixth of Ardsheal, succeeded to the representation of the family on the death of his brother Alexander in 1769. He had settled in Connecticut, New England, where he was appointed Collector of Customs, and in 1767 married Anne, daughter of the Honourable John Erving, one of H.M. Council for the Province. Taking the Loyalist side in the American War, and suffering heavy losses, he obtained the restoration of his paternal estate of Ardsheal,

and the appointment of Collector of Customs at Bermuda. He resigned this office after two years, and returned to his ancestral house, where he died, leaving issue—

1. CHARLES, his successor, of whom hereafter.
2. JOHN, who, at the age of eighteen, succeeded his father as Collector of Customs at Bermuda, and married Sarah, daughter of the Honourable Daniel Leonard, Chief Justice of Bermuda, by whom he had issue—

1. DUNCAN STEWART, H.M. Attorney-General for the Bermudas, who married Sarah Amelia, daughter of Richard Darrell of Montpelier, Bermuda, and had issue seven sons and six daughters—

1. JOHN STEWART of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister, married Anne, daughter of Thomas Winslow, and has issue—1. Donald Charles ; 2. Robert Bruce ; 3. Allan Winslow ; 4. Haldane Campbell.
2. DUNCAN STEWART of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister, and a Master of the London Court of Bankruptcy, married Florence Emma, daughter of the Rev. Charles Mackenzie of Torridon, Ross-shire, a Prebendary of St Paul's, London, and has issue—1. Duncan Grant Mackenzie ; 2. Malcolm Mackenzie ; 3. Græme Mackenzie ; and four daughters, Florence Mackenzie, Helen Mackenzie, Agnes Margaret Mackenzie, and Beatrice Lilian Mackenzie.
3. LEONARD STEWART of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister.
4. JAMES STEWART, married first, Julia Bransom, daughter of Edward Reinagle, by whom was no issue, and secondly, Jane,

daughter of J. Bell, by whom he left a daughter, Grace Gwendoline Haldane.

5. RICHARD DARREL STEWART, died in Demerara, unmarried.
6. HARVEY DARRELL STEWART, of the Inner Temple, Barrister.
7. CHARLES EDWARD STEWART, a clerk in holy orders, vicar of St James', Manchester.

The daughters of Duncan Stewart, Bermuda, are Sarah Darrel, married to Major Papillon, Royal Artillery, with issue, and Emily Clementina, Mary Catharine Darrel, Anne Margaret, Esther Mary, and Harriet Papillon, all unmarried.

2. LEONARD STEWART, M.D., died unmarried.
3. JAMES STEWART of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister, formerly M.P. for Honiton, married his cousin, Margaret Emily, daughter of Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie, with issue—1. James, died unmarried; 2. Duncan John, in the Indian Army, married, without issue; and four daughters, of whom one, Alice Charlotte, survives.

Of the daughters of John Stewart, Collector at Bermuda, Emily Clementina was married to Edward Witherington, and had issue a daughter, married to W. Hinton, with issue; Anne, married to William S. Cumming, with issue, several sons and daughters; Sarah Joanna, married to Edward Winslow, Barrister, and has issue, Mary, Harriet, and Octavia, died unmarried.

3. GEORGE, died in infancy.
4. JAMES HALDANE STEWART, a clergyman of the Church of Eng-

land, who was eminent for his piety, and of whom a memoir was written. He married Mary, daughter of David Dale, and had issue—

1. WILLIAM CADOGAN STEWART, died unmarried.
2. DAVID DALE STEWART, long Vicar of Maidstone, Kent, and now Rector of Coulsdon, Surrey, married Cecilia, daughter of the Rev. Henry Raikes, Chancellor of Chester, and has no issue.
3. JAMES HALDANE STEWART, Rector of Brightnell, Berks, married Emily, daughter of William Leveson Gower of Titsey, and died leaving five daughters.

Also two daughters, Anne Erving, and Mary Dale, both unmarried.

5. WILLIAM GEORGE ERVING STEWART, who went to Lima and married a Spanish lady there, and left issue three daughters, one of whom married General Pacheco of Ober, and another married the General's brother, Colonel Pacheco.

Of the daughters of Duncan Stewart, sixth of Ardsheal, Anne was married to John M'Nab of Balquidder, and had issue four daughters :—1. Anne, married to the Rev. Harvey Sperling, of Lattenbury Hill, Hunts, and had issue three sons, viz.: Arthur Sperling, of Lattenbury Hill, Chairman of Quarter Sessions for Hunts and Cambs, who married Adelaide Noel, daughter of Sir Henry Baker, Bart. of Dunstable House, and has issue; Henry Sperling, who died unmarried; Frederick Sperling, Rector of Papworth, St Agnes, who is married and has issue; and also three daughters, of whom the eldest is married to Count Lecchini of Pisa. 2. Margaret, married to Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie, *vide* page . 3. Charlotte, married to her cousin, Colonel Charles Alexander Stewart, second son of Stewart of Glenbuckie, and had issue three sons—John M'Nab Stewart, who married and has issue; James

Drummond Stewart, Lieutenant in the 72nd Highlanders, who died unmarried; and the Rev. Charles Gerard Stewart, who died unmarried; 4. Catharine, who died unmarried.

Sophia, fourth daughter, married John Campbell, W.S., and had issue a son, Stewart, who died unmarried, and four daughters, Georgiana, Julia, Grace Jane (married to the Rev. R. Hall), and Amelia.

Isabella, the fifth daughter, died unmarried.

CHARLES STEWART, seventh of Ardsheal, succeeded his father in 1793, and served for a short time in the army. He married Rebecca, daughter of William Sinclair of the Deer Park, county Armagh, and Strabane, county Tyrone, and had issue—

1. CHARLES, his successor.
2. ANNETTE, married to Major Robert Stewart, of the 94th Regiment, seventh son by his wife Mary, daughter of Alexander Stewart, eighth of Invernahyle, of John Stewart Mor, who was second son of John Stewart, seventh of Fasnacloich, by his second wife, a daughter of M'Nab of M'Nab. Annette Stewart left issue, Anna Rebecca Charlotte, married to Miles Lockhart, son of James Lockhart of Lanhams, Essex, and of Marsden and Pring, Bucks, and has issue—
 1. Robert Stewart Lockhart; 2. James Haldane Stewart Lockhart; 3. Eian Ingram Lockhart; 4. Douglas Francis Pigott Lockhart. Also Elizabeth Lockhart, and Mary, married to Sebright Edward Coffin, son of Lieut.-Colonel Coffin.

Duncan Stewart, sixth of Ardsheal, had established in 1771, in the Scots Herald Office, his position as the representative of the Stewarts of Appin and Lorn, on account of the failure of the male line of Duncan, sixth Baron of Appin; and on the 28th April 1800, the Earl of Kinnoul, then Lord Lyon King at Arms, issued the following certificate and declaration :—"The Ensigs Armorial, pertaining and belonging to

Charles Stewart, Esquire of Ardsheal, eldest son and heir of Duncan Stewart, Esquire [late collector of the customs at New London, in Connecticut, North America, heir male and representative of the Stewarts of Ardsheal, Appin and Lorn], and Anne, youngest daughter of the Hon. John Irvine, merchant in Boston, New England, and many years one of His Majesty's Council, which Duncan was eldest son of Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal, by Isabella, daughter and coheir of John Haldane of Lanrick, which Charles was son and heir of John, who was son and heir of Duncan, who was son and heir of John, the first of the family of Ardsheal, who was second son of John, fifth baron of Apine by . . . , daughter . . . Macdonald of Moidart, which John was son and heir of Duncan, who was son and heir of Alan, who was brother and heir of Duncan, who was son and heir of Dugald, first of the family of Apine, the only son of the last Lord Lorn, and the seventh in descent in a direct male line from Alexander, sixth Lord High Steward of Scotland, by Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll, his second son, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Bonkyll of that Ilk, are matriculated in the Publick Registers of the Lyon Office, and are blazoned as on the margin, thus, viz. : quarterly first and fourth or, a fess checkie azure and argent for Stewart, second and third argent, a galley, her sails trussed up and oars in action sable for Lorn. Above the shield is placed a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling gules, the doubling argent. On a wreath of his liveries is set for crest an unicorn's head issuing out of the wreath argent, maned, horned, and bearded or ; on an escroll above the crest this motto, *Quhidder will zie* ; and on a compartment below the shield are placed for supporters two roe bucks proper." The certificate is signed by James Horne, the Deputy of the Earl of Kinnoul, and the following note is added :—"The roe bucks were adopted as the old supporters of the Stewarts Lords Lorn, and proper for Mr Stewart of Ardsheal, as representative of that family." Under the authority of the Lyon Office, dated 13th June 1879, the flags in the galleys are blazoned gules.

CHARLES STEWART, eighth of Ardsheal, the present chief of the clan, and heir male and representative of the Stewarts of Ardsheal, Appin, and Lorn, was born in 1805, and succeeded his father in 1844, and is unmarried. On his death, the representation of the clan and family will devolve upon the eldest male heir of the late Duncan Stewart of Bermuda, son of John, the second son of Duncan Stewart, sixth of Ardsheal.

STRATHGARRY.

JOHN STEWART, second son of Alan Stewart, third of Appin, received from his father the lands of Strathgarry in Athole, after the return of Alan and his five sons from Flodden, A.D. 1513.

This family of Strathgarry appears to have left Scotland before 1730, when the lands were sold to a cadet of the family of Invernahyle, by a lineal descendant of whom they are still held, together with the lands of Innerhadden, also in Athole. *Vide* Invernahyle.

About one hundred and fifty years ago, Dugald Stewart, the representative of John, second son of Alan, was a Lieutenant in Halkett's regiment in the Dutch army, and seems subsequently to have risen to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He married Susan Fairfoul, daughter of Lieutenant Fairfoul of Braeindam, and left issue. There are many gentlemen of the name of Stewart holding good positions in the civil and military services of Holland, but all endeavours to trace the descendants of Dugald Stewart among them have been unsuccessful, though it is possible that they still exist in that country.

The Stewarts of Glen Ogle, and others in Balquidder, are also descendants of the Stewarts of Appin, but the old families of Baldorran, Ardvorlich, Annat, Gartnafuaroe, and the original Stewarts of Glenbuckie, were all descended from Lord James Stewart, son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany.

Sometime towards the end of the sixteenth century, Stewart of Strathgarry, having taken possession of lands in the upper part of Rannoch, which had been possessed by a Macdonald, was surprised by a party of that clan, and killed by them for dispossessing their kinsman. A meeting of the Stewarts of Appin, Balquidder, and Athole was held at the Bridge of Keltney, where they entered into a written bond to avenge the death of their kinsman of Strathgarry, and it was arranged that they should all meet on the Blackmount on a day agreed upon. At the appointed time the Appin Stewarts came up through Glencoe, the Athole Stewarts marched up the braes of Rannoch, and the Stewarts of Balquidder, headed by Ardvorlich, came by Tyndrum.

They had letters of Fire and Sword against the murderers of Strathgarry, which his widow had procured by going to Stirling, and showing her husband's bloody shirt to the Privy Council. As it was in the month of June, the Macdonalds of Glencoe were out at their shealings in the Blackmount, where they were surrounded by the Stewarts, and a number of them killed. The laird of Glencoe and his brother were among the slain, and their heads were cut off, to be sent to Stirling and presented to the Privy Council, as an unquestionable proof that their orders had been fully carried out. A messenger was despatched with them in a small barrel, which he carried on his shoulder. He occasionally shook the barrel, and made the heads knock against each other, exclaiming in Gaelic, "Can't you agree; I am sure you are friends."

He halted at Ardvorlich on his way south, and no one being at home but the Lady of Ardvorlich, he asked to see her, and said he had brought two strangers to visit her, Glencoe and his brother. The lady was much alarmed, as all the men were away at the rendezvous, but the messenger soon allayed her fears by producing the two heads.

A copy of the bond entered into by the Appin and Perthshire Stewarts to avenge the death of Strathgarry was long in the possession of the Ardvorlich family, but it was lent to a Stewart of Annat, and at his death could not be found amongst his papers. A copy of it is said to be in the possession of the Duke of Athole.

ACHNACONE.

ACHNACONE, in the charter of A.D. 1500 spelled Auchnaguone, signifies the "field of dogs," and obtained its name when Castle Stalcaire was occupied as a hunting seat by the ancient Lords of Lorn, and afterwards by James IV. and James V. of Scotland, from its being the place where the hounds were usually slipped or thrown off on a hunting morning. The rising ground, now occupied by the present mansion, commands an unobstructed view of the Strath of Appin, and down Loch Creran to Loch Linnhe, and was a favourable situation for hunting the deer driven down from the mountains to the Strath.

DUGALD, first of Achnacone, was third son of Alan, third of Appin, by his wife, a daughter of Lochiel. The old and valuable papers of the Achnacone family have unfortunately been lost, and this loss is the more to be regretted as they were of such importance as to be referred to as authentic sources of information by Mr Brown, when he was compiling his Genealogical Tree of the Stewarts in 1792.

Unhappily, scarcely anything now remains of this collection, excepting some marriage settlements with the Glencoe family.

These lands, however, as narrated by Duncan Stewart in his "History of the Stewarts," descended from Dugald, who received them from his father soon after the battle of Flodden in 1513, in regular hereditary succession to Duncan Stewart, who married Mary, daughter of Duncan Stewart of Inverlochy, of the family of Fasnacloich, and died in 1850, leaving issue—

1. MARY ISABELLA, married to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Macdonald, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Macdonald, of the Keppoch family, by whom she had two daughters, Margaret and Mary.
2. JESSIE, died unmarried.
3. ALEXANDER, now of Achnacone, of whom hereafter.
4. JOHN, died unmarried.
5. SUSAN, married to Alexander Macdonald, Sheriff-Substitute of the Lewes, and died, leaving three sons and one daughter.
6. DONALD, died unmarried.
7. CHRISTINA, married to Thomas Beattie of Creive, and had two daughters—Christina, who died young, and Mary Stewart Beattie, now of Creive and Glenmorven.
8. CHARLES EDWARD, who entered the Royal Navy in 1827, and served at the Cape and in South America. He afterwards entered the diplomatic service as Financial Secretary and Treasurer under Sir Henry Pottinger during the second Chinese War, taking an active part in the negotiations for the treaty of peace by which it was terminated. He was for many years Secretary to the London and North-Western Railway Company, and subsequently Chairman of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company. Charles Edward Stewart died unmarried in 1868, and the following is an extract from a minute of the New York Board of Directors of the Telegraph Company, recognising the valuable services he had rendered in establishing telegraphic communication between England and America :—

"NEW YORK, 13th April 1868.

"The Board having heard with profound regret of the sudden death of Mr Charles Stewart, late Chairman of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, desire to record their deep sense of the loss which has thus unexpectedly been sustained, not only by the company of which he was the able, dignified, and faithful chief executive officer, but by the whole telegraphic interest of the world, which owed so much to his enlightened public spirit and the large catholic views which governed Mr Stewart, not only in the discharge of his duties, but in the extension of this beneficent agent of civilisation into the remotest quarters of the globe."

Alexander Stewart, now of Achnacone, went to India in 1831, and entered the Government Civil Service, from which he retired in 1861. He married Mary Montague, eldest daughter of Daniel Wilson Davison of Brand Hall, Shropshire, and has issue—

1. CHARLES MONTAGUE DUNCAN.
2. MARY, married to John Stuart of Kishorn, second son of the Right Hon. Sir John Stuart. *Vide* Ballachelish.
3. ALEXANDER KENNETH, Physician in Her Majesty's Forces in India.
4. ARTHUR FULLJANES, died young.
5. MONTAGUE MACDONELL, died young.
6. ANNIE JANE BORRODAILE.
7. DOUGLAS GRANT.
8. KENNETH TREVOR.

FASNACLOICH.

JAMES, fourth son of Alan Stewart, third of Appin, by his wife, a daughter of Lochiel, received the lands of Fasnacloich from his father after their return from Flodden in 1513. Fasnacloich is situated at the foot of Glen Creran, and the name signifies a field or place of stones or crags. James, first of Fasnacloich, married a daughter of Maclean of Kinlochaline, and had issue—Dugald, James, and John.

DUGALD STEWART, second of Fasnacloich, married a daughter of Alexander Macdonald, uncle and tutor of Macdonald of Glencoe. The Macdonalds of Glencoe are descended from Angus, brother of John, first Lord of the Isles, and grandson of Somerled. Dugald left one son, John, his successor.

JOHN STEWART, third of Fasnacloich, married a daughter of Campbell of Inverawe, and had two sons, John and Alexander.

JOHN STEWART, fourth of Fasnacloich, married Margaret, third daughter of John Stewart of Lettershuna, brother of Donald, fifth of Invernahyle, and had one son, James.

JAMES STEWART, fifth of Fasnacloich, married, first, a daughter of Campbell of Auchnard, and had one son, John, his successor. He married, secondly, a daughter of Alexander Stewart, fourth of Ballachelish, by whom he had—1. Duncan; 2. Alexander; 3. James, of whom hereafter; and 4. Alan. These were all present at the battle of Killiecrankie, or at the siege of Dunkeld which followed, where James was wounded.

JOHN STEWART, sixth of Fasnacloich, married Moir, daughter of Duncan Stewart, second of Ardsheal, by his second wife, a daughter of Maclean of Ardgour, and had three sons—1. James, who predeceased his father, unmarried; 2. John; 3. Alexander James, of whom hereafter; and several daughters.

JOHN STEWART, seventh of Fasnacloich, married Une (Winifred), daughter of Macdonald of Glencoe, by whom he had James, his successor, born 17th July 1723, and one daughter, Mary. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of M'Nab of M'Nab, and by her had issue—

1. JOHN MOR, who married Mary Stewart, daughter of Alexander Stewart, eighth of Invernahyle, and had issue—
 1. JOHN, died in Jamaica, unmarried.
 2. KATHARINE, died unmarried.
 3. ANNE, married to Dr Wilson of the Royal Scots Regiment, by whom she had two children, who died young.
4. ALEXANDER, Lieut.-Colonel commanding the 4th battalion Royal Scots, and equerry to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, whose life he saved in a mutiny at Gibraltar. He served with the Royal Scots in Portugal under Sir Charles Stewart, from 1797 to 1799; in the expedition to Holland under Sir R. Abercromby in 1799, and actions of 19th September and 2nd and 6th October; in the secret expedition to Ferrol in 1800; in the expedition to Egypt in 1801-3 under Sir R. Abercromby, and in all the actions in that campaign; in the reduction of St Lucia and Tobago in 1803; in the campaign in North America in 1812-15, mentioned in despatches; and with the army in France 1815-16.
5. JAMES, lost returning from India.
6. DUNCAN, designed in the entail of Fasnacloich, executed on the 18th November 1794, as Lieutenant in the 74th Highlanders; drowned when returning from India, in H.M.'s Frigate "Java." He was unmarried.
7. ROBERT, Major in the 91st Highlanders. He served in the expedition to Portugal in 1808 under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and was present at the battles of Roleia and Vimiera; under Sir John Moore in the retreat through Spain, and at the battle of Corunna in 1809; in the Walcheren expedition in the same year; and with the Duke of Wellington's army in 1812-16, including the battles of Vittoria, the Pyrenees (seriously wounded), Nive, Nivelle, Orthes, Toulouse (wounded), and Waterloo. He married Annette, only daughter of Charles Stewart, seventh of Ardsheal, and had issue an only child, Anna, married to Miles Lockhart. *Vide* Ardsheal.

JAMES STEWART, eighth of Fasnacloich, was present at the battle of Culloden in 1746. He married a daughter of Macdonald of Glencoe, and had issue, Ronald, and two daughters, besides twenty other children, who died young. James, eighth of Fasnacloich,

executed, on the 18th November 1794, an entail of the lands of Fasnacloich, comprehending the four merkland of Balmakeldon and Fasnacloich, with the lands called Selle and Corbiand thereto adjacent; and the lands of Letterdrissaig and Corveallan, and other parts of the four merkland of old extent of Glassdrum, Altindain, Corveallan, Corily, and Corvenauchtrach. The entail destined these lands, after the entailer's death, to his son Ronald Stewart, and his heirs-male, whom failing, to any other son of the entailer, and his heirs-male.

2. To John Stewart in Auchindarroch, his brother, and his heirs-male.

3. To Major Alexander Stewart, his brother, and his heirs-male.

4. To Lieutenant Duncan Stewart of the 74th Highlanders, his brother, and his heirs-male.

5. To James Stewart, late in Clunes, grandson of James, fourth son of James Stewart, fifth of Fasnacloich, and his heirs-male. This James Stewart, late of Clunes, had married Mary, daughter of John Stewart, seventh of Fasnacloich, and sister of the entailer.

6. To William Stewart of Hillhead, Dumfriesshire, grandson of Alexander James, third son of John Stewart, sixth of Fasnacloich.

7. To the heirs-male of the body of Winnie Stewart, his eldest daughter.

8. To the heirs-male of the body of Margaret Stewart, his second daughter.

RONALD STEWART, ninth in succession to Fasnacloich, predeceased his father. He married Catharine, daughter of Fraser of Brightmany, a branch of the Culduthol family, and had issue—

1. JOHN, his successor.

2. JAMES, who died young.

3. ELIZABETH, who died young.

4. RONALD, a posthumous daughter, married to Stewart Menzies of Culdares, in Glenlyon, and had issue—1. Ronald Stewart Menzies of Culdares, who married May, daughter and heiress of Macdouall Grant of Arndilly, and had issue—1. William George Stewart Menzies, now of Culdares; 2. Maria, married to Fletcher Norton Menzies, by whom she has a daughter, Grace; and 3. Katharine, married to George Henry Vansittart of Bisham Abbey, Berks.

JOHN STEWART, tenth of Fasnacloich, succeeded his grandfather, James, in 1795. He married Harriet, daughter of Murdoch MacLaine of Lochbuy, and left issue—

1. RONALD, who predeceased his father, unmarried.

2. JOHN CAMPBELL, who succeeded his father.

3. JAMES, R.N., died unmarried.

4. ALEXANDER, died unmarried.

And seven daughters—

1. Jane, married to Lieutenant-General George Sandys, H.E.I.C.S., by whom she

had one son, Edwin, now of the 58th Regiment, and three daughters, Frances, Mary, and Louisa ; 2. Catharine ; 3. Margaret ; 4. Anna ; 5. Harriet ; 6. Elizabeth ; and 7. Henrietta, all unmarried.

JOHN CAMPBELL STEWART, eleventh and present of Fasnacloich, succeeded his father. He married Mary Caroline, daughter of Charles Bernard. She died 9th December 1877, and left issue—

1. JOHN CHARLES, born 12th November 1873.

2. RONALD, born 4th February 1875.

3. BERNARD, born 9th December 1877.

And three daughters—May Ronald, Winifred, Harriet Anna.

Captain John Campbell Stewart served in the 72nd Regiment, "The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders," during the Crimean campaign in 1855 and 1856, was present at the capture of Kertch, and at the siege and fall of Sebastopol, for which he has medal and clasp, Turkish medal, and fifth class of the Order of Medjidi. He also served in the Indian Mutiny of 1857, and in the pursuit of the rebels in 1858, and was at the capture of the fortress of Kotah, and the action on the Burnass River, for which he has a medal and clasp. After returning to his estate from a distinguished career in the army, Captain Stewart has earned, by his liberality and his exertions in their behalf, the lasting gratitude of the Episcopal community of Glencreran. Ever since the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church of Scotland in 1688, a large portion of the people of Appin has remained faithful to her creed, and from that time till now the services of the Church have been kept up continuously at Glencreran, though at various places, and at one time in a chapel, now quite ruinous. But by the erection of St Mary's Church on his estate in 1877-8, with its parsonage adjoining, for which Captain Stewart gave the site, and to which he liberally contributed, he has provided for the regular and permanent services of the Church to which the people of Appin of the old stocks have been so steadfastly faithful. In Bishop Ewing's eloquent charge to the clergy of Argyll and the Isles in 1864, he writes :—"On those sweet lochs and dreamy shores, which are characteristic of this diocese, there is indeed more than Iona. In the district of Appin, on the shores of Glencreran, on the banks of Loch Leven, in the valley of Glencoe, on the borders of Loch Linnhe, there are still some representatives of the past, some blood of the ancient race, some worship not unlike the worship of Iona."

ALEXANDER JAMES, third son of John Stewart, sixth of Fasnacloich, and of his wife Moir, daughter of Duncan Stewart, second of Ardsheal, was born in 1672. As a youth of seventeen, he was present at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, and at the siege of Dunkeld following. He was also at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715, and after that engagement went abroad. Being seventy-three years of age, he was too old to join Prince

Charles Edward's army in 1745, but took an active part in raising men for the expedition, and in 1746 he was examined at the trial of Murray of Broughton, with a view of eliciting from him a corroboration of that traitor's evidence against gentlemen engaged in the rising, but he feigned dotage. Alexander Stewart married Anne Stewart of the family of Ardsheal, and died at the age of ninety-six, in May 1768, leaving one son, Charles.

CHARLES STEWART, only son of Alexander, was attached to the person of Prince Charles in 1745-6 as his Purse Bearer, and received from the Prince the appointment of Sheriff of Argyll. He was present at the battles of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden, and was one of those who, after that ill-starred day, found a place of refuge and concealment in Appin, though that district was then in possession of the Duke of Cumberland's troops. But he soon quitted this comparative security to endeavour to rejoin and assist Prince Charles Edward, and sometime afterwards escaped to France, where he is named as one of those who, at the instance of James VIII., received grants for their support from Louis XV. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Johnstone of Redacres, a cadet of the family of Johnstone of Corehead, and a descendant of Rachel, daughter of Walter Whitefoord of Whitefoord, Bishop of Brechin. Nisbet says "the first of the family was Walter de Whitefoord in Renfrewshire, who got Whitefoord for his services at the battle of Largs, when under the command of Alexander, Senescallus Scotiæ." The estate of Whitefoord descended in regular succession to Adam Whitefoord of that Ilk, who by his wife, the daughter of Sir James Somervell of Camnethan, had two sons, James, his successor, and Dr Walter Whitefoord, first sub-dean of Glasgow, afterwards parson of Moffat, and in 1635 advanced to the Episcopal See of Brechin. Charles Stewart left issue—

1. ALEXANDER, who died young.
2. DUNCAN, who succeeded.
3. WILLIAM, of whom hereafter.
4. JOHN, who died in India, unmarried.
5. ELIZABETH, married to Donald Cameron.
6. CHRISTINA, married to ——— Stewart, and had issue, now extinct.

DUNCAN STEWART, second son of Charles Stewart, was Commandant of Fort William, and married Jessie, daughter of Donald M'Phee, Loch Arkalg, and had issue—

1. ALEXANDER, Lieutenant-Colonel in the 95th Regiment, Rifle Brigade, married Harriet Palmer, and had issue, Charles Alexander and Agnes, both of whom died unmarried.
2. JOHN, Major in the 95th Regiment, Rifle Brigade. He was an officer of great distinction, and served on the continent with the 79th regiment in 1794; in 1795-96 and '97 in the West Indies; in 1798 in Germany; in 1799 in the campaign in Holland; in 1800 at Ferrol with a detachment of the Rifle Brigade; and in 1801 with Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, where he was wounded. In

1802-5 Major Stewart was with his regiment at home, and in 1806-7 he was in South America, serving on General Whitelock's staff at the taking of Monte Video, and during the following campaign. In 1808 he was on the staff of Sir John Moore during the campaign in Spain, and in 1809-10, and till his death in 1811, he served with his regiment during the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, under Lord Wellington. He fell on the 14th of March in that year, in the course of the operations on the Mondego, when, in command of the left wing of his regiment, he was leading a charge with the bayonet. General Sir Benjamin D'Urban wrote, that when "he was wounded, as in every action of his military life, he was a bright example of calm intrepidity, and many were admiring his gallantry and skill." Sir Sidney Beckwith also wrote of him in terms of the highest praise, and the London *Courier* of the 24th April 1811 gave a detailed notice of Major Stewart's career, observing that "scarcely a service of activity and danger had occurred within the previous eighteen years in which he had not been employed, and that on all occasions not only had he distinguished himself by his skill and bravery, by his steady and soldier-like conduct in the field, but that he had made himself master of his profession, so far as study and a good understanding could enable him." The *Courier* concluded by saying that "he fell like another Wolfe, in the arms of victory, not too soon for his own glory, for he was known and admired by the whole army, but much too soon for his country, which had a right to expect that in due course he would supply the place of some one of the great generals of the present day, distinguishing himself, like them, by another Maida, Talavera, or Barrossa."

The letter written on the occasion of the death of Major Stewart, to his elder brother, is given at length. The writer was the distinguished Colonel Cameron of Fassifern, who so long and so gloriously commanded the 92nd Highlanders, and who himself, four years later, met a like soldier's death on the field of Quatre Bras. It is characteristic of both the gallant soldiers who—maintaining under southern skies and the British flag that close friendship which had for centuries associated their families in the cause of loyalty and the Stuarts—had together, and almost shoulder to shoulder in old Highland fashion, borne up the fray against the enemies of their country on many a bloody and well-fought field. It is a sermon by two true soldiers, inculcating—with few words of preaching, but by that example which is better than precept—resignation, cheerfulness, hope, courage, and devotion.

"HUTTED ON THE MONDEGO,

NEAR THE PONTE DE MARIELLO.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—The fate of man is mortality. Prepare yourself for

the greatest affliction, in having that truth brought home to your feelings with a vengeance. But, at the same time, draw some consolation from the reflection that he fell on the bed of honour, and died a martyr to that glory which he so successfully pursued, lamented and regretted by all, one of the brightest ornaments of his country and profession.

"Poor John, I was not far from him when he fell. Word was brought me that he inquired for me. I went and saw him. He beckoned to me to sit down by him, but the doctors would not allow me to sit, or speak to him. But in spite of the doctors he made me bend over him, and said in Gaelic, 'My dear fellow, let them know that I am quite well, and want for nothing. The doctors are kind to me, and in a month I shall be at them again.' The French were then hard at the head of our column with small and great guns. I was obliged to go on. I never saw a man in better spirits. He pressed my hand eagerly, and we parted never to meet again. At eleven that night his soul fled to heaven. His wound was through the body and out at the back. God bless and strengthen you.—Yours ever,

J. CAMERON."

To Lieut.-Col. STEWART, Milton, near Woodbridge.

Major Stewart died unmarried at the age of thirty.

3. WILLIAM, also an officer in the 95th Regiment, who died in India, unmarried.

Also six daughters—

1. ANNE, married to the Rev. W. Singer, D.D., and had issue five sons, who died unmarried, with the exception of Major Alexander Stewart Singer, who married Clara, daughter of the Rev. John Johnstone of Crossmichael, and left issue, William Duncan Singer, and Mary, married to James Bell of Woolbrook, Victoria, by whom she has issue, John Calvert, Alexander Singer; also Anne Stewart Singer, unmarried, and Clara, married to George B. Poynter, Tasmania, and has issue, Clara, Mary Harriet, and one son. Anne Stewart or Singer had also two daughters—Elizabeth, married to the Rev. John Bennet of Ettrick, of the family of Bennet of Whiteside, Stirlingshire, and has one son, the Rev. William Bennet, who married Maria Rawson; and Anne Stewart Singer, married to the Rev. John Macmillan, D.D., and has issue, Samuel, who married Eliza Goodsir, daughter of the Rev. Hugh Dobie; William Singer, and John James Macmillan; also one daughter, Anne Stewart Macmillan, married to the Rev. Alexander Marshall, Kirkcudbright.
2. ELIZABETH, married to Captain Arthur Buchanan, and died without issue.
3. MARY, married to Duncan Stewart of Achnacone. *Vide* Achnacone.
4. CHRISTINA of Glenmorven, Argyllshire, died unmarried.
5. JESSIE, married to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Stuart of Lochcarron. *Vide* Ballachelish.

6. CHARLOTTE SOPHIA, married to John Collins, by whom she had one daughter, Margaret Elizabeth Stewart, married to His Excellency George Frederick Augustus, Count Bremer of Cadenberge, Privy Councillor, Chamberlain, and Knight of the Guelphic Order, in the Kingdom of Hanover, and has issue one daughter, Charlotte Sophie Von Bremer.

WILLIAM STEWART of Hillhead, Dumfriesshire, a Deputy-Lieutenant for that county, third son of Charles Stewart, married Margaret, daughter of George Graham of Shaw, lineal descendant of Henry de Graham of Dalkeith, by his marriage, about 1240, with the heiress of Roger de Avenel of Eskdale. William Stewart died in 1822, leaving issue—

1. JAMES HOPE, who succeeded to Hillhead, born 2nd August 1789.
2. CHARLES of St Michael's, born 2nd December 1790, died unmarried.
3. MARGARET, born 15th June 1792, died unmarried.
4. GEORGE GRAHAM, Captain R.N., born 4th February 1794, died unmarried.
5. ELIZABETH, born 24th October 1795, died unmarried.
6. WILLIAM JOHN, W.S., of whom hereafter, born 10th December 1798.
7. JANET GRAHAM, born 14th March 1801, died unmarried.
8. CHRISTINA, born 27th June 1803, died unmarried.
9. JOHN DUNCAN ALEXANDER, of whom hereafter, born 18th April 1805.
10. ANNE JOHNSTONE HOPE, born 10th December 1807, died unmarried.
11. DAVID WILLIAMSON, born 7th October 1809, died unmarried.

JAMES HOPE STEWART of Hillhead succeeded his father in 1822, married Helen, daughter of Richard Bell of Dunnabie, and died in 1856, leaving issue—

1. WILLIAM, died in China, a partner in the firm of Messrs Jardine, Matheson, & Co. He predeceased his father, and was unmarried.
2. THOMAS, succeeded his father.
3. GEORGE GRAHAM (a partner in the firm of Messrs Heycock & Co., Bombay), married Wilhelmina Rankine, and died without issue.
4. CHARLES.
5. JOHN HOPE JOHNSTONE, married Jessie, daughter of John Murray of Haregills, and has issue—Janet Margaret; James Hope; Eliza; Helen Anne; and Sarah Grundy Stewart.
6. JAMES HOPE, died in Demerara, unmarried.
7. DUNCAN, married Christina Anne, daughter of William Stewart, W.S., and has issue—Alison Helen; Agnes Ethel; George; Elizabeth Jessie; and Anne Stewart.
8. DAVID WILLIAMSON of Grange, married Isabella, daughter and heiress of James Johnstone of Grange, and has issue—James Hope; Isabella Johnstone; Helen

Bell ; William James ; Inez Jane ; Jessie Elizabeth ; Charles ; Anne ; Margaret Johnstone ; and Andrew Jardine Stewart.

9. ALEXANDER, died young.

10. ANDREW JOHNSTONE JARDINE, drowned in China, unmarried.

Also two daughters—

1. ANNE, married to James Graham of Dunnabie, second son of George Graham of Shaw, and has issue—George, who died young ; Helen Bell Stewart, married to John Cross ; James Hope Stewart, now of Dunnabie ; and Mary.

2. MARGARET CHRISTINA, married to Christopher Johnstone of Crofthead, and has issue—Helen Bell Stewart ; William ; Sarah Blacklock, married to Alastair Robertson Stewart of Derculih ; and James Hope Stewart.

THOMAS STEWART of Slodahill succeeded his father in 1856.

WILLIAM STEWART, W.S., fourth son of William Stewart of Hillhead, married Alison, daughter of Charles Steuart, W.S., and died in 1842, leaving issue—

1. ALICE.

2. CHRISTINA ANNE, married to her cousin, Duncan Stewart, and has issue—Alice ; Agnes Ethel ; George ; Elizabeth Jessie ; and Anne Stewart.

3. WILLIAM STEWART, W.S., married Mary Harriet Binns, daughter of George Greaves, and has issue.

JOHN DUNCAN ALEXANDER STEWART, fifth son of William Stewart of Hillhead, married Harriet Everilda, daughter of Major Antony Gore, brother of Sir Ralph Gore of Manor Gore, co. Donegal, who succeeded his uncle Ralph, Earl of Ross, as seventh baronet, the earldom being limited to heirs male of his uncle's body. J. D. A. Stewart died in 1869, leaving issue—

1. WILLIAM GEORGE STEWART of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, born April 1830, married in 1859 Charlotte Jane, daughter of George Cook, and has issue—William Duncan ; Horace, who died young ; and a daughter, Constance Charlotte.

2. DUNCAN STEWART of the 92nd Highlanders, a lieutenant-colonel in the army, served in the Crimea at the close of the campaign in 1856, in the Indian Mutiny in 1858, including the battle of Azimghur, on the 6th April (specially thanked), actions at Shahjehanpore 14th May, and Mohunpore 26th May, capture of the fort of Pourie, and action at Beejapore (wounded by sabre cut, and mentioned in despatches.) Medal with clasp, and brevet of major. Born 18th June 1831 ; married, 1864, Emily Rose, daughter of John Mackenzie Lindsay, and has issue—

Ian Charles Lindsay, born 8th September 1865 ; Ronald Robert, born 25th June 1867 ; and Archibald Alan William John Stewart, born 8th January 1872.

3. OSMOND DE HAVILLAND STEWART, born 27th February 1835; married, 1860, Jessie Mounsey, daughter of William Rogerson of Wamphray, and had issue—Agnes Florence and Jessie Harriet Margaret Stewart. Married, secondly, in 1866, Frances, daughter of George Bathurst, and by her has issue—Duncan John, born August 1867; Charles George, born September 1871; and John Stewart, born July 1875. Also three daughters—Mary Elizabeth Christina; Frances; and Christian Alice Stewart.
4. CHARLES STEWART, an advocate at the Scottish bar, born 9th November 1840; married, December 1870, Eva, daughter of Henry Kingscote, and had issue—

BERTRAND, born 1st October 1872.

He married, secondly, July 1874, Alice Louisa, daughter of Robert Johnstone Douglas of Lockerbie, and the Lady Jane Johnstone Douglas.

Also four daughters—1. Margaret Mary Anne, died young; 2. Pauline Harriet, married, August 1865, to the Baron Otto Von Klenck, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Hanoverian Garde du Corps, and A.D.C. to H.M. King Ernest of Hanover, and Duke of Cumberland, and has issue—Frederica Langensabza and Marie Von Klenck, to whom H.R.H. Princess Frederica and H.M. Queen Marie of Hanover respectively stood sponsors; 3. Christina Adelaide Ethel, married, February 1862, to James Alexander Rogerson of Wamphray, formerly of the 61st Regiment, and has a daughter, Harriet; 4. Florence Grace Norah, born September 1839, and died November 1855.

JAMES STEWART, third son of James Stewart, fifth of Fasnacloich by his second wife, a daughter of Alexander Stewart, fourth of Ballachelish, married a daughter of Robertson of Fascally, Athole, and widow of Charles Robertson of Calvine, Athole. Mrs James Stewart had been left by her father the liferent of Clunes, in Glengarry in Athole, and both her husband and her son were known as of Clunes. They left issue—

JAMES.

And two daughters, one of whom married Robertson of Kindrochet, Athole, and the other Macpherson of Phones, in Badenoch.

JAMES STEWART succeeded his father, and married, first, Susan Stewart, of the family of Drumchary, Athole, and by her had one son, who died unmarried. He married, second, Mary, daughter of John Stewart, seventh of Fasnacloich. James Stewart and the heirs male of his body were named in the entail of Fasnacloich, executed in August 1794, as next in succession after the heirs male of the body of the entailer, James Stewart,

eighth of Fasnacloich, and those of his father. By his second marriage he left issue—

DUNCAN STEWART.

Also three daughters, one of whom, Anne, married James M'Nicoll of The Craig, Forfarshire, and had issue—John, who married his cousin, Eliza Stewart; and a daughter, Mary M'Nicoll, married to the Rev. William Ramsay of Alyth, Aberdeenshire.

DUNCAN STEWART, son of James Stewart of Clunes, born 20th August 1770, was a solicitor in Edinburgh, and married in 1809 Janet or Jessie, daughter of Ranald M'Donald, nineteenth of Keppoch (Raonull Og), and had issue—

1. JAMES, born September 1810, died unmarried.
2. RANALD, born December 1813, died young.
3. JOHN, born September 1816, died June 1865, unmarried.
4. ALEXANDER MACDONELL.
5. RANALD.

Also three daughters—Eliza married her cousin, John M'Nicoll of The Craig, Forfarshire, and had issue six daughters; Mary, died October 1864, unmarried; and Clementina Macdonell Stewart, unmarried.

INVERN AHYLE.

ALEXANDER, first of Invernahyle, called the "Tiochail," or "The Peaceful," was fifth and youngest son of Alan Stewart, third of Appin, by his wife the daughter of Lochiel. After the return of the clan from Flodden in 1513, Alexander received from his father the lands of Invernahyle, so called from their situation at the mouth of the Hyle, a stream separating the property from Achnacone.

In the following account of Alexander and his descendants, the quaint style of the old family MS., from which it has been abridged, has been as far as possible preserved. It would appear that Alexander lived at Eilean-n-Stalcair (Falconer's Island), and early one summer morning went to an island called Eilean nan Gall, which lies contiguous, and can be approached on foot at low water. Not apprehending any danger, he laid down his Lochaber axe carelessly by his side. A deadly feud then existed betwixt his family and that of the Campbells of Dunstaffnage, and at this very time Cailean Uaine (Green Colin), brother to Dunstaffnage, having landed with a party of men, came up suddenly and seized hold of the axe, exclaiming, "This is a good axe, if it had a good handle to it!" Alexander immediately replied, "Has it not that?" showing at the same time his appreciation of Colin's sarcastic meaning by the practical repartee of laying his own hand upon it.

During the struggle which followed, Alexander was surrounded by Colin's men and basely murdered. His infant son only escaped a like fate through the courage and devotion of his nurse, Morag, wife of Raibeart-a-Pheti, smith or armourer of Moidart, who, to ensure the safety of her charge, fled with him to her own country, after having concealed him for three days in a cave, now known as Uaimh Dhomnuil nan Ord.

Alexander had married Margaret, daughter of Macdonald of Lochan, brother to Muidart, by whom he had one son, Donald, who succeeded him. The Moidart family claim descent from Ranald or Reginald de Yle, who got a grant of lands from his father, with confirmation under the Great Seal of Robert II. in 1372-3. Ranald was second son of John de Yle, whose second wife was Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert II.

DONALD, second of Invernahyle, so well known as Domhnall-nan-ord, or Donald of the hammers, was reared by the armourer and his wife, as if he had been one of their own sons. They, indeed, loved their foster-son, or dalt as he was called in the Gaelic, with the strongest and truest affection. Raibeart's armour-work bore the highest reputation, so much so that it was a common question in the district, "Is that a Moidart-made sword you wear?" Both as armourer and as tacksman of farms on Lochsheilside, he held a much higher social position than that held by a smith in the present day. Donald, as he grew up, developed remarkable talents, both mental and physical. He was ready of wit, quick in expedient, and of uncommon resolution, combined with great strength and activity. He could take in each hand one of the large hammers which required the full strength of an ordinary workman, and wield both at the same time without any unusual effort. He could dive, it is said, into a pool of the river Shiel, near the smith's house, and bring up a salmon with his hands. On Donald's reaching manhood, Raibeart told him the secret of his birth, at the same time presenting him with a sword tempered with the utmost cunning of his art, and offering him the assistance of his foster-brothers in taking vengeance on his father's murderers. His uncle, Muidart, on being made aware of the truth, recognised the relationship, and placed at his disposal a number of men chosen from his clan. Invernahyle, in the absence of an heir, had reverted to Appin, but the chief, fully convinced of Donald's birthright to the land, at once restored it. Donald, without delay, attacked Dunstaffnage, but though success ultimately crowned his efforts, it was not until after several fights in which Cailcan Uaine and nine other gentlemen of that family were slain. Colin was killed by one of Donald's men, who pierced him with an arrow as he was attempting to escape by swimming over the river Lyon (Leven). While the arrow was still quivering in Colin's breast, one of the Campbells called out from the opposite side of the river, "That is clean blood you have given the Lyon salmon to-day!" "Not so clean," was the retort, "as you gave, without cause, one fine morning to the crabs of Eilean-'n-Stalcair!"

Argyll, greatly annoyed at the manner in which Invernahyle was harassing his clan,

tried several times to cut him off. This caused Donald to make a foray on Loch-awe-side, commemorated in the following verse of a Gaelic ballad still recited in Appin :—

“ Donald-nan-ord, the armourer’s dalt,
In full coat of mail becomingly clad,
Lifted the creach from the banks of Lochowe,
Which retrieve Mac-a-Chailein shall never, nor now,
Nor son, nor great-grandson, nor grandson know how.”

The fulness of the coat of mail marked the strength of the wearer.

Appin, and other friends of Invernahyle, wishing to bring the feud to an end, insisted on his making peace with Argyll, and Donald went to Inveraray for that purpose. The meeting with Argyll took place at some distance from the castle, and the interview is thus narrated by the bard. Donald, who apparently did not anticipate that the conference would result in any increase of their mutual affection, thus accosts the Earl :—

“ Mhic-a-Chailean, grim and sallow,
Small’s the love you bear to me ;
But when my homeward path I follow,
’Tis well if I bear more towards thee.”

When laughing heartily, Donald had an ungraceful habit of throwing back his head, a habit perpetuated—says the family MS., with some humour—in some of his descendants to the present generation. Argyll is related by the poet to have made a sneering reference to this, and to have asked, pointing to the rock above Ardkinlas, if Invernahyle knew that it was called “the ugly laugh.” The rejoinder, though, perhaps, not more courteous than the remark which called it forth, was, at least, equally cutting :—

“ Ugly the laugh on the cliff of yon hill,
Which for aye has been stamped on the place ;
But as grim, and as ugly, you’ll find when you will,
By a look at your Countess’ face.”

Argyll would only consent to make peace on the crafty condition that Invernahyle should raise “hershops” on Moidart and Athole, hoping thus to bring him into collision with these his most intimate friends. But Argyll had met an intellect quite equal to his own. Donald agreed to the terms, but subsequently made an arrangement with his uncle and Athole by which they permitted him to raise a spoil from some refractory tenants who had sorely provoked them, while any pursuit, which, to save appearances, they would have to make, would be more in show than in reality. Thus, to the great chagrin of Argyll, Donald fulfilled his part of the compact without losing the regard of his old friends.

His chief, Alan Stewart, third of Appin, being a very old man, and his eldest son, Duncan, dead, we find the clan commanded at the battle of Pinkie, on 10th September 1547, by Invernahyle, as Tutor. In the absence of the exact dates of the deaths of Alan's sons, there is no certainty upon the point, but the strong probability appears to be that Invernahyle held this command under exceptional conditions, that is to say, by the express appointment of the Chief, in consideration of his remarkable military abilities, and not by the claims of birthright. On their march homeward in the following month, when passing through Menteith, the clan found prepared, at the house of one of the tenants, a marriage dinner, at which the Earl of Menteith was to be present. Being very hungry, Donald and his followers quickly disposed of the feast, without much consideration of consequences. Menteith, arriving immediately afterwards, was very wroth at the insult which he conceived had been offered to him, and instantly pursued the Stewarts. On overtaking them, one of the Grahams taunted them thus:—

“Yellow-haired Stewarts, of smartest deeds,
Who could grab at the kale in your sorest needs!”

To which a Stewart replied,—

“If smartness in deeds is ours by descent,
Then I draw—and to pierce you this arrow is sent,”

at the same time suiting the action to the word.

A conflict followed, in which the Earl and many of his men were killed. The Appin men marched off in triumph, the pipers playing the Stewarts' march, “We will up and march away, we will up and march away, we will up and march away, daring let of all men.” The whole words and music of this spirit-stirring march are given at pages

In Fraser's book of “The Lennox,” it is said, “William, fifth Earl of Menteith, was killed at Tobanareal, a spring on the summit of the ridge which divides Menteith from Strathgartney, by the celebrated Donald Stewart of Invernahyle, Tutor of Appin, familiarly called ‘na'n Ord,’ or of the Hammers.” Duncan Stewart's account is that Donald, “in his return, was attacked by the Earl of Menteith, at a place called Tipard'nerheil, near the Port of Menteith, in resentment of a little malversee some of Stewart's men had been guilty of in their march, where the Earl and some few of his friends and followers were killed.”

Donald looked with intense contempt on every employment for a gentlemen other than that of war or the chase. The quiet, domestic life of his son Duncan, and his great interest in his farm-work, troubled him sorely. He bore it, however, with outward patience until one day, when he saw his son not only directing his labourers, but even, for the purpose of showing more clearly what he wished to be done, taking a spade into his own hands. His long-simmering wrath at once boiled over, and the fiery old chieftain, drawing his dirk, pursued his son into the house, where, supposing or pretending to suppose

that Duncan had hidden in the bed, he struck with such force as to drive the weapon through both bed and bedding. Happily his son, as the old gentleman was probably well aware, had hidden elsewhere. The reef of rocks where he crossed the river Hyle in pursuit of his son is still called Donald's steps. The history of Donald n'an Ord has been immortalised by Sir Walter Scott, in a history of his life, printed in the fifth edition of Captain Burt's letters, by Robert Jamieson, F.S.A. of London and Scotland.

Brought up in circumstances not entirely dissimilar from those attending the early life of his great-grandfather, Dugald, first of Appin, Donald seems to have shared his ancestor's ignorance of, or contempt for, forms of law. It was not till about 1570, when he was himself advanced in years, and when he was making over the lands of Innerphuill to his son Duncan, some time after the marriage of the latter, that he bethought himself of taking formal sasine of the estate which he had regained.

The "Precept of Seisin of the lands of Innernaheil and Innerpollan in favours of Donald Stewart, son of Alexander, son of Alan, ad annum 1570," is noticed by Duncan Stewart.

He died at a very advanced age towards the close of the sixteenth century, and was buried at Lismore. By his first wife, a daughter of John Stewart of Bunrannoch (Drumchuin), he had—

1. ALEXANDER, who died young.
2. DUNCAN, his successor
3. ALAN, of whom Ballachelish.

4. JOHN, who got Lettershuna, the old name of the lands round Appin House. He married a daughter of James Stewart of The Glens, and had issue six daughters. Among the retours of 1633, Mary, the wife of Dugald M'Dougall of Dounhach (Dunach), and second daughter of John Stewart of Lettirschewnay, and her sisters, Catharine the eldest, Margaret the third, Isobel the fourth, Janet the fifth, and Agnes the sixth, were served heirs-portioners to their father in the lands of Achachosgrane, of the old extent of two merks in the barony of Appin.

5. A daughter, married to Archibald Campbell of Achalader.

Invernahyle married, secondly, the widow of James Stewart of The Glens.

DUNCAN, third of Invernahyle, succeeded his father. He married Helen, daughter of Campbell of Dunstaffnage, by whom he had issue—1. Alexander, who succeeded him ;

2. Dugald of Innishaorach, in Breadalbane ; and 3. Allan.

He lived a gentle and peaceful life, keenly interested in the improvement of his lands. His marriage with a daughter of Dunstaffnage was intended to end all bye-gone feuds, and restore peace betwixt the families. At first, however, it was very bitter to his father Donald, who could not forget the soreness of the past, but in the course of time, and by the earnest intercession of friends, he became reconciled, and made over to the young people the lands of Innerphuill.

ALEXANDER, fourth of Invernahyle, seems to have played a conspicuous part in Montrose's campaigns, for, as above noticed at page 166, we find in the Acts of the Scots Parliament, anno 1649, his name specially mentioned, with those of Lochbuy, Appin, and Kingerloch, as having been present at Kilsythe on 15th August 1644, and Inverlochic on 2nd February 1645, with the result of being forfeited in land, person, and estate. He married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, seventh of Appin, by whom he had twelve sons, who all lived to the age of manhood. It is recorded that Alexander appeared in church one day accompanied by these twelve sons, all dressed in kilts, with belted plaids, and in full armour.

Records of all the descendants of the numerous family of Alexander, fourth of Invernahyle, have not been handed down. He was succeeded by his eldest son

1. DONALD, of whom hereafter.

2. JAMES, died about 1690, leaving one son—

1. ALLAN, married a daughter of the Rev. Mr M'Calman, minister of Lismore ; died about 1715, leaving issue—

1. James, who died about 1787; 2. John; 3. Allan; 4. Dugald of Mount Stewart, in Jamaica. Allan, the third son, served with Prince Charles' army in 1745, was wounded in the campaign, and died of his wounds soon after. He left issue a son, Andrew who died about 1765, leaving—

1. JOHN.

2. THOMAS, who married Mary Brough, heiress of Boghall. He bought the adjoining property of Steelend, and left issue—

1. JOHN, died 1805.

2. THOMAS, an officer of the Royal Navy, who served at the siege of Gibraltar, 1779-83, and under Admiral Lord Rodney, died 1795.

3. PETER.

4. JAMES, born 1778, married Isabella Tod, died in New York, 1813, leaving issue one son, David, who, by his wife, Adelina Smith of Brooklyn, has issue—1. Isabella, married to John L. Gardner, Boston, U.S.; 2. Adelia, died, unmarried, 1854; 3. David, died, unmarried, 1874; 4. James.

5. GEORGE, born 1785, died 1872, leaving issue.

Also three daughters—1. Helen, married George Meliss, Perth; 2. Mary, died unmarried; 3. Ann, married to ——— Arrat, with issue. Helen, the eldest daughter, left issue—

1. Andrew ; 2. George ; 3. Charles—all of whom died unmarried ; 4. James, married Madeline Nairn, died 1853 ; 5. Thomas, married a daughter of T. de Vain, and died in India, leaving one son. Helen had also three daughters—1. Ann, born 1778, died, unmarried, 1798 ; 2. Eliza, born 1804, married E. L. Sanders of New Ross, Herefordshire, with issue ; 3. Mary, born 1789, married William Stuart, descended from the family of Garlies, and has issue—

1. Robert, author of "Caledonia Romana," died 1848, leaving issue—William, David, and three daughters ;
2. Helen, married Professor Thomson, M.A., Aberdeen, has one son and three daughters ; 3. George ; 4. Eliza, married T. Robertson, by whom two sons (George and William) and one daughter ; 5. William, married, no issue ; 6. Mary, died 1848 ; 7. John, died young ; 8. Ann ; 9. Archibald ; 10. James, has issue—Charles, Mary, and Rachel ; 11. John ; 12. Madeline, died young.

DONALD STEWART, fifth of Invernahyle, succeeded his father, and married a daughter of Campbell of Lochnell, by whom he had issue—

1. ALEXANDER, who succeeded him.
2. DUNCAN STEWART, minister of Blair Athole, of whom hereafter, besides two other sons and two daughters.

ALEXANDER STEWART, sixth of Invernahyle, married, first, Isabel, daughter of John Campbell of Kirkton, Muckairn, by whom he had two daughters ; and, second, a daughter of Macdonald of Fersid, by whom he had Duncan, his successor, and one daughter.

DUNCAN STEWART, seventh of Invernahyle, married a daughter of Campbell of Barcaldine, and left issue—

1. ALEXANDER, who succeeded him.
2. JOHN.
3. DUGALD.
4. ROBERT.

5. ALLAN, who was out with his brothers Alexander and James in the 'forty-five. He afterwards served during the Canadian war as a lieutenant in the 78th Regiment (Fraser's), and subsequently fought, together with some other Highlanders, in the Royal cause during the American Revolution. He died at Invernahyle in 1792.
6. JAMES.
7. MARGARET.
8. MARY.

Duncan was out in 1715 under the Earl of Mar, but his father having remained at home the estate was not forfeited.

ALEXANDER, eighth of Invernahyle, married Catherine, daughter of Robert Stewart, ninth of Appin, and left issue—Dugald, who succeeded him, besides five other sons and nine daughters.

Alexander was the very ideal of a genuine Highland gentleman of the olden time : strict in his integrity, true to his word, sensitively honourable to the verge of romance, unconscious of fear, yet tender-hearted as a child. Sir Walter Scott, when a young man, visited him often at Invernahyle, and knew him well. He thus speaks of him :—“Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, a name which I cannot write without the warmest recollections of gratitude to the friend of my childhood, who first introduced me to the Highlands, their traditions and their manners. . . . He was a noble specimen of the old Highlander—gallant, courteous, and brave even to chivalry.”

He was out in 1715 and in 1745, joining Prince Charles with his brothers Allan and James, and the Invernahyle contingent. On the morning of the battle of Prestonpans the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin made a brilliant charge, storming and capturing a battery of four field-pieces. Alexander was in the very fore-front, and noticed an officer of King George's service standing alone, firmly grasping his sword, and evidently purposing to die at his post. He called on him to surrender, but for reply received a sword thrust, which he caught in his target. The officer, who afterwards proved to be Colonel Allan Whitefoord of Ballochmyle, being now defenceless, and the battle-axe of a gigantic Highlander—the miller of Invernahyle—about to descend on his head, reluctantly consented to yield. Invernahyle protected his person and property, and finally obtained his liberty on parole. Colonel Whitefoord was a man of high influence and character, and between him and his captor there sprung up a warm friendship and regard. Invernahyle visited Ballochmyle on his journey northwards to raise more men for Prince Charles when the Highland army were retreating from England, and spent a few days with the colonel and his Whig friends as pleasantly as if all had been peaceful. After Culloden it was Whitefoord's turn to strain every nerve to obtain Invernahyle's pardon. Being met everywhere with refusals, he at last went direct to the Duke of Cumberland, who also

decidedly declined. He then limited his request to protection for Stewart's house, wife, children, and property; but this also being denied him, he laid his commission on the table before the Duke, and asked permission to retire from the service of a sovereign who did not know how to spare a vanquished enemy. His Royal Highness was affected, and at length granted the request. A detachment of soldiers was accordingly sent to Invernahyle, who, though they spared his property, unremittingly searched for his person. He was nearer than they thought, being hid, like the Baron of Bradwardine, in a cave near at hand. For weeks his life was supported by precarious supplies brought to him by a daughter only eight years old, who strayed among the soldiers and watched for the moment when she could, unobserved, steal into the thicket. His sufferings were aggravated by an unhealed wound received at Culloden. After this, and when he had at last ventured to sleep in his own house, he had a remarkable escape, being fired at and pursued by a party of soldiers, who noticed him leaving it in the morning. The fugitive having escaped, the soldiers returned and threatened the household with punishment for sheltering one of the proscribed traitors. An old woman with great presence of mind said it was the shepherd. "Why, then," said the soldiers, "did he not stop when we called him?" "Because," was the ready reply, "he is stone deaf." The shepherd was sent for, but having been duly tutored, pretended deafness, and the storm consequently blew over. (See *Quarterly Review* of April 1817). Invernahyle was afterwards pardoned under the Act of Indemnity.

Letters are still in possession of the family written by Lochiel and Keppoch to Invernahyle, and by him to Donald Campbell, governor of Eilean-'n-Stalcair, which give a vivid picture of the events occurring in those troublous times, as well as the culture, principles, and feelings of the Highland gentlemen who were so deeply involved in them.

The first of these, addressed to Invernahyle, and dated from Glen Nevis, 20th March 1746, is as follows:—

SIR,—Yesternight we received a letter from Clunie, giving an account of the success of the party sent by His Royal Highness, under the command of Lord George Murray, a copy whereof we thought proper to send you enclosed; and as you happen for the present to be stationed contiguous to the Campbells, it is our special desire that you instantly communicate to Airds the Sheriff, and other leading men among them, our sentiments (which, God willing, we are determined to execute), by remitting this our letter, and the enclosed copy, to any most convenient to you. It is our opinion that, of all men in Scotland, the Campbells had the least reason of any to engage in the present war against His Royal Highness' interest, considering that they have always appeared in opposition to the Royal Family since the reign of James VI., and have been guilty of so many acts of

rebellion and barbarity during that time, that no injured Prince but would endeavour to resent it when God was pleased to put the power in his hands. Yet his present Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent were generously pleased by their respective declarations to forgive all past miscarriages to the most violent and inveterate enemy, and even bury them in oblivion, provided they returned to their allegiance; and though they should not appear personally in arms in support of the Royal cause, yet their standing neuter should entitle them to the good graces of their injured sovereign. But, in spite of all the lenity and clemency that a prince could show or promise, the Campbells have openly appeared with their wonted zeal for rebellion and usurpation in the most offensive manner; nor could we form a thought to ourselves that any men, endowed with reason or common sense, could use their fellow-creatures with such inhumanity and barbarity as they do, and of which we have such daily proofs by their burning of houses, stripping of women and children and exposing them to the open fields and severity of the weather, houghing of cattle and killing of horses—to enumerate the whole would be too tedious at this time. They must naturally reflect that we cannot but look on such cruelty with horror and detestation, and, with hearts full of revenge, will certainly endeavour to make reprisals, and are determined to apply to His Royal Highness for having an order to enter their country, with full power to act at discretion; and if we are lucky enough to obtain it, we will shew them that we are not to make war against women and the brute creation, but against men, as God was pleased to put so many of their people into their custody. We hope to prevail with His Royal Highness to hang a Campbell for every house that shall hereafter be burnt by them.

Notwithstanding of the many scandalous and malicious aspersions industriously contrived by our enemies against us, the world never hitherto, since the commencement of the war, can impeach us with any acts of hostility that had the least tendency to such cruelty as they exercise against us, though often we had it in our power, if barbarous enough to execute it.

When courage fails against men, it always betrays cowardice to a degree to vent their spleen against brutes, houses, women, and children, who cannot resist. We are not ignorant of their villianous intentions by the interrupted letter from the Sheriff Airds, &c.; will plainly discover that it was on their application that their general, Cumberland, granted orders for the burning, &c., which he could not be answerable for to a British Parliament, it being most certain that such barbarity could never be countenanced by any Christian Senate.—We are, Sir, your most humble servants,

(Signed) DONALD CAMERON of Lochiel.

„ ALEXR. M'DONALD of Keppoch.

P.S.—I cannot omit taking notice that my people have been the first that felt the

cowardly barbarity of my pretended Campbell friends. I shall desire to live to have an opportunity of thanking them for it in the open field.

(Initialed) D. C.

Invernahyle forwarded the above letter to Donald Campbell, governor of Eilean-'n-Stalcair, with the following from himself:—

SIR,—As you have frequent opportunities of corresponding with the gentlemen of Argyleshire, I send you the enclosed for their perusal, which I request you will forward. I am heartfelt sorry that the burning of houses and destruction of cattle is once begun in our country, which must be hurtful to both parties, and a loss to the conqueror, and make friends and neighbours that (wish) well to one another's interests alter their sentiments. I own it is the only part of the war that gives me most trouble. If my friends and I should differ about the government of the nation, I always thought it was better we decided in the field than bring our sentiments upon innocent wives and children, who may possibly differ in sentiments from their parents. You may see by the enclosed it is believed that my friends in Argyleshire have been the cause of this violent procedure. I shall be very sorry it hold true, as I still continue to have a value and friendship in private life for them, they being mostly my good friends and relations; and I hope, if it is in their power, they will put a stop to it. I did not choose to be employed in forwarding such letters, but people, once engaged on either side of the question, must execute their orders.—I am, dear Sir, your humble servant,

(Signed) ALEXR. STEWART of Invernahyle.

Prince Charles presented Alexander with a ring, lozenge-shaped, and containing a lock of his hair, which is now in possession of the family of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal. Alexander, in the year 1778, exchanged with Major John Campbell of Airds, his lands of Invernahyle, Inverpholla, and Garrachoran, for the lands of Acharn, Belloch, Keill and others, and afterwards sold Belloch and Keill. He died at an advanced age in 1795. By his wife, Katherine, daughter of Robert Stewart, ninth of Appin, he had issue—

1. MARGARET, married to Donald M'Donald, son of Kinloch Muidart, who "suffered" at Carlisle in 1874-6, by whom she had two sons, who both died unmarried.
2. CHARLES, Lieutenant in the 74th Regiment, died without issue.
3. ALEXANDER, died young.
4. DONALD, died young.
5. MARY, who was married to John Stewart. *See Fasnacloich.*
6. ANNE.
7. JANE.
8. JANET.

9. ROBERT, died young.
10. ROBINA.
11. DUNCAN, died without issue.
12. HENRIETTA, died young.
13. CATHARINE, died young.
14. DUGALD, who succeeded his father.
15. ISABELLA, died young.

DUGALD STEWART, ninth of Invernahyle, succeeded his father. He sold the remainder of the lands, and died at Ardsheal in 1840, leaving no issue.

JAMES STEWART, sixth son of Duncan, seventh of Invernahyle, was severely wounded at Culloden. After the campaign he married Robina, daughter of John Edmonstone of Cambus-Wallace, and had issue three sons and two daughters.

ALEXANDER STEWART, his eldest son, served in His Majesty's forces as a surgeon, and married a great-granddaughter of the above-mentioned John Edmonstone. Alexander died in 1830, and left issue—

1. JOHN, who died unmarried; and 2. CHARLES.

CHARLES STEWART, only surviving son, was a Writer to the Signet. He married Mary Henrietta, daughter of Andrew Wood, surgeon, Edinburgh, and died in 1836, leaving issue—

1. ALEXANDER, lost at sea.
2. ANDREW WOOD, the present representative of the family.
3. ELIZABETH.
4. BONYER, in Australia.
5. FRANCIS, twin brother of Bonyer.

Andrew Wood Stewart married, in June 1859, Frances Buchan Wilkie, daughter of James F. Wilkie, S.S.C., and has issue—

1. CHARLES.
2. ANDREW FRANCIS.
3. MARY ALEXANDRA.
4. EDITH LOUISA.
5. WILLIAM FREDERICK.
6. HENRIETTA.
7. ALEXANDER PATRICK.

INNERHADDEN AND STRATHGARRY.

DUNCAN STEWART, M.A., second son of Donald, fifth of Invernahyle, was Episcopal clergyman of Dunoon and Kilmun, and was deposed for not praying for William and Mary in 1690. He subsequently held the living of Blair Athole, as the parishioners would not admit a Presbyterian minister. The Presbytery of Dunkeld ordained another minister in 1716, saying that Mr Duncan Stewart had intruded into the kirks of Blair Athole and Struan; that he had never prayed for King George, but only in general terms for the Sovereign; that he read the thanksgivings for the safe arrival of the Pretender; had a great hand in influencing the people to rebellion in 1715, and read all the Proclamations by the Earl of Mar. He married, first, the daughter and heiress of the Rev. Aeneas MacLaine, Kilfinan, second son of Hector MacLaine, Lord Bishop of Argyll, by whom he had issue—

1. ALEXANDER, his successor in Strathgarry.
2. DONALD, who married a daughter of Stewart of Urchoilebeg in Athole, and had issue—1. Jean, married to the Rev. Alexander M'Calman, Incumbent of Lismore; 2. Margaret or Ann, married to a brother of Stewart of Urchoilebeg;
3. Mary, married, first, to Alexander Robertson, by whom she had no issue, and secondly, to Campbell, brother of Glenlyon, by whom she had issue.

The Rev. Duncan Stewart married, second, Janet, daughter of — M'Calman, and had issue—

1. JOHN, who died young.
2. ALAN, who inherited from his father the lands of Innerhadden. Alan married Christian, daughter of M'Nab of M'Nab, and had issue—1. Duncan Stewart, who succeeded his father in Innerhadden, and died 23rd March 1807, unmarried;
2. Alan Stewart, who succeeded his brother, and married in 1822 his cousin, Jean, daughter of Donald Stewart of Duntaulich. He purchased from the Duke of Athole the superiority of Bun-Rannoch, etc. He died in 1837 without issue, leaving Innerhadden to the head of the elder branch of his family, Allan Duncan Stewart of Strathgarry, by whom it is now possessed. Alan, first of Innerhadden, inherited his father's attachment to the royal family of Stewart, took arms for Prince Charles in 1745-6, and, after Culloden, his house was burned and his lands plundered by the soldiers of the Duke of Cumberland.

The Rev. Duncan Stewart had four daughters by his second marriage—1. Catharine, married to Alexander Stewart of Duntaulich, by whom she had issue Donald; 2. A daughter, married to a son of Campbell of Glenlyon; 3. Elizabeth, married to Donald

M'Laren of Invenenty ; 4. Robina, married to Patrick Stewart, called "Mac Pheti," of the Ballechin family.

The Rev. Duncan Stewart wrote a "History of the House of Stewart," which was not published till 1739, nine years after his death. This book is a standard work, and is constantly referred to by all later historians of the Stewarts. He died in 1730.

ALEXANDER STEWART succeeded his father in Strathgarry. He married Amelia, daughter of Robertson of Kincaigie, a branch of the family of Lude, and died about 1749, leaving issue, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander.

ALEXANDER STEWART, third of Strathgarry, was born in 1712. He was minister of Blair Athole from 1741 to 1780, and married Isabella, daughter of Patrick Robertson, second son of Alexander Robertson, tenth of Lude, by whom he had issue—

1. DUNCAN, who succeeded.

2. CHARLES, died unmarried.

3. ALEXANDER STEWART, minister of Moulin, from which he was translated to Dingwall in 1805, and thence to the Canongate parish in 1820. He married, first, Louisa, daughter of Captain Macpherson of Dalchully, fifth son of Cluny Macpherson, chief of the Clan Chattan, and of Jean, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and had by her two children—

1. ALEXANDER (a minister in holy orders), died, unmarried, at Cromarty in 1847.

2. CATHARINE, married in 1821 to the Rev. Hector Allan, minister of Kincardine, in Ross-shire, and died in 1836, leaving issue—1. Alexander Stewart Allan, born 19th August 1822, entered the H.E.I. Company's military service in 1841, retiring as Major-General in 1795; he married, 25th October 1848, Edith Ross, daughter of William Samuel Blackburn, co. Lancaster. 2. Catharine, married to George Richmond of Bathaldie, co. Perth, and has issue.

Dr Alexander Stewart, minister of Moulin, married second, in 1802, Emilia, daughter of the Rev. Charles Calder, minister of Urquhart, co. Ross, and by her had issue—

1. CHARLES CALDER, born 1804, minister of Aberdalgie, who married Jamina Hunter, daughter of Robert Lee, and died, leaving no issue.

2. DUNCAN STEWART, M.D., H.E.I.C.S., who married Margaret Sophia, daughter of Edward Toussaint, Commander H.E.I. Company's Marine, and had issue—1. William Jackson Stewart, Major in the Bengal ^{Artillery} ~~Native Infantry~~, who married Jean Isabella, daughter of General Carmichael Smith, and had issue; 2. James Calder Stewart, Major in Her Majesty's Forces in India, who married Emily Hartley, daughter of Thomas Grant of Hungershall Park; 3. Duncan Stewart, Lieutenant 78th Highlanders; and two daughters.

3. JAMES CALDER STEWART, who married Rosina, daughter of Alexander Campbell, and has issue—1. Alexander ; 2. Charles ; 3. Douglas Campbell ; 4. Emily.
4. PATRICK STEWART, died without issue.
5. JOHN STEWART. He married Matilda, daughter of James Graham of Whitehills, advocate, and has issue—Matilda, James Graham, and Alexander.

Dr Alexander Stewart of Moulin, by his second marriage, had two daughters—1. Margaret Brodie, married to Sir John Frederick William Herschel, Bart., and had issue three sons and nine daughters ; 2. Isabella, died unmarried.

ALEXANDER STEWART, third of Strathgarry, also left three daughters—

1. CECIL, who was married in 1770 to Gilbert Stewart of Fincastle, and had issue, of whom Jean was married in 1805 to Alexander Robertson, twenty-second baron of Struan, and was mother of Alexander Gilbert Robertson, whose son Alasdaer was chief of the clan Donachie, and twenty-fifth baron of Struan.
2. JEAN, who was married to the Rev. Alexander Small, and had issue—1. Robert Small, a merchant in London ; 2. Alexander Small, Minister of Stair ; 3. John Small of Foodie, co. Fife, who died in 1862, leaving issue. Also daughters, none of whom left issue, except the eldest, Isabella Small, who married in 1811 the Rev. Daniel Robertson, D.D., and left issue, one of whom is Patrick James Robertson of Hailton, M.P. for Hastings 1852 to 1868.
3. MARGARET, died unmarried.

DUNCAN STEWART, fourth of Strathgarry, born 1747, succeeded his father, the Rev. Alexander Stewart, and was Minister of the parish of Balquhider. He married Arabella, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Auchline, and had issue—

1. ALEXANDER, who succeeded him.
2. DUNCAN, M.D., died unmarried.
3. ROBERT, born 1787, who entered the H.E.I.C.S. in 1806, retiring as a Major-General. He married first, in 1831, Anne, eldest daughter of Captain Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie, who died without issue in 1833 ; and secondly, in 1834, to Grace, third daughter of Robert Menzies of Dalreoch, in Perthshire, by whom he had issue—
 1. ANNE ARABELLA, born 1835, and married in 1861 to Charles Patrick Finlay, W.S., Edinburgh, and died in 1878, leaving issue—1. Gilbert Laurie ; 2. Robert Stewart ; 3. Charles Patrick.
 2. JESSIE, died unmarried.
 3. ROBERT DUNCAN, died unmarried.
 4. ARABELLA ELIZABETH SMYTHE, married in 1867 to William Burnet Craigie, Major in the Bengal cavalry. She died in India in 1868, leaving issue.

5. GRACE ROBERTA LOUISA, married in 1877 to Charles Baxter, W.S., Edinburgh, by whom she has one son, Edmund, also Mary Turnbull.

The Rev. Duncan Stewart, fourth of Strathgarry, had also a daughter, Louisa, who was married in 1804 to the Rev. R. Kay, successively Minister of Kinclaven, of the Canongate Chapel, Edinburgh, and of the West Church, Perth. They had three sons and three daughters—

1. ARABELLA, died unmarried.
2. ELIZABETH ANNE, who was married in 1837 to the Rev. George Gordon Milne, formerly Episcopal Clergyman of Cupar Fife, by whom she has four sons and one daughter—1. Alexander Stewart Spencer; 2. Eliza Margaret; 3. Robert Duncan; 4. George Louis Cyprian; and 5. James Erskine Fulton.
3. ALEXANDER, died unmarried.
4. ROBERT DUNCAN, born 1810, and died 1848. He was a Captain in the H.E.I.C.S., and married in 1846 Caroline Alice, daughter of N. J. Halhed of the Bengal Civil Service.
5. HENRIETTA DUNDAS, died unmarried.
6. DUNCAN JAMES of Drumpark, co. Kirkcudbright, who married Charlotte Halhed.

ALEXANDER STEWART, fifth of Strathgarry, born 1779, was a Colonel in the H.E.I.C.S., and married, first, Sarah Harriet, daughter of the Rev. ——— Dart, Dover, by whom he had one daughter, who died young; and second, Janetta, daughter of Ralph Allen Daniell of Trelissick, co. Cornwall, High Sheriff of that county in 1795, and M.P. for West Love in 1806, by whom he had issue—

1. ALLAN DUNCAN, his successor.
2. ALEXANDER, born 1832, a merchant in Bombay. He married, first, Elizabeth Dalziell, daughter of General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., and had issue—1. John Cheape; 2. Janetta; 3. Duncan Hubert. He married, second, Mary, daughter of Monsieur Gosset, Berne, Switzerland, and has by her—1. Edith; 2. Marie Madeleine; 3. Lucie; 4. Alice.
3. JANETTA, unmarried.
4. HINTON DANIELL, born 1835, and married Lucy, daughter of Donald Macfarlane, M.D., Perth, and has issue—1. Donald Allan; 2. Hinton; 3. Isobel; 4. Janetta; 5. Harriet.

ALLAN DUNCAN STEWART, sixth of Strathgarry, and fifth of Innerhadden and Bunnahoch, born 1831, succeeded his father in 1835. He was a Fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge, and is a C.E. and J.P. for Perthshire. He married in 1857 Susan Hepburne, daughter of Archibald Hepburne Mitchelson of Middleton, co. of Edinburgh, and has issue—

Died at Innerhadden 31 Dec. 1876

1. GERTRUDE.

2. ALEXANDER.
3. ARCHIBALD HEPBURN. *Dead at Bannockburn. 1314*
4. ROBERT PHILIP.
5. ALLAN HINTON.
6. SUSAN GRACE. *Dead at Bannockburn. 1314*
7. DUNCAN CHARLES.
8. JESSIE ELIZABETH.
9. JANE ELIZA.

BALLACHELISH, A.D. 1520.

ALLAN STEWART, third son of Domhnall-nan-ord of Invernahyle, was with his father at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and so demeaned himself at that engagement that he was placed at Ballachelish to defend the ready entrance into Appin at that point, either across a narrow strait of Lochleven, or down the pass of Glencoe. Ballachelish is a corruption of the two Gaelic words, Bala and Chaolas, and thus signifies the town on the ferry. Allan married a daughter of M'Donald of Killiechonan, and had two sons, Alexander and Donald.

ALEXANDER STEWART, second of Ballachelish, married Janet, youngest daughter of John Stewart, brother of Invernahyle, and had two sons—John, who succeeded him, and Alexander. Also two daughters, Isabel and Beatrice. Alexander married a daughter of Campbell of Barcaldine, and had three sons—Alexander, of whom hereafter, Donald and Allan.

JOHN STEWART, third of Ballachelish, married a daughter of Duncan Stewart of Ardsheal, but, having no issue, was succeeded by his nephew, Alexander.

ALEXANDER STEWART, fourth of Ballachelish, born A.D. 1684, succeeded his uncle. He married, first, Anne, daughter of John Stewart of Ardsheal, but had no issue; secondly, Isabel, daughter of Alexander Stewart of Annat, a branch of the Stewarts of Ardvorlich, and by her had issue—1. John, who succeeded him; 2. Alexander, killed at Culloden, where four of his nephews—Duncan, Donald, Dugald, and Alexander—were wounded; 3. a daughter, Isabella.

Alexander was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715, at Culloden, and died in 1774 at a great age, and was succeeded by his son, John.

JOHN STEWART, fifth of Ballachelish, succeeded his father, and married Margaret, daughter of William Wilson of Murrayshall, and grand-daughter of John Haldane of Lanrick, Perthshire. He died 1794, leaving issue one daughter, Lillas.

LILLAS STEWART, sixth of Ballachelish, succeeded her father, and married Dugald

Stuart, a captain in the 71st Regiment. She died in 1840, leaving issue—1. Charles, who succeeded, born 1787; 2. John, of whom hereafter; 3. Henry, died unmarried; also a daughter, Margaret, who died unmarried.

CHARLES STUART, seventh of Ballachelish, succeeded his mother, and married Clementina, daughter of Dr Bartlett Buchanan. He died in 1855, leaving issue—Dugald, died unmarried in 1872; John; and three daughters.

JOHN STUART, second son of Lilius Stewart of Ballachelish, was born 1793. He was admitted to the English Bar in 1839, was subsequently made Queen's Council, and in 1852 was appointed Vice-Chancellor. In 1846 he was elected Member of Parliament for Newark, was re-elected in 1847, and in 1852 was elected Member for Bury St Edmunds. In 1861 he purchased the lands of Lochcarron, Sheildaig, and Kishorn. He was appointed one of Her Majesty's Privy Council on his retirement from the Vice-Chancellorship in 1871. The Right Honourable Sir John Stuart married Jessie, daughter of Duncan Stewart of Inverlochy, and died in 1876, leaving issue—

1. DUGALD STUART of Lochcarron. He married in 1876 Elizabeth Margaret Downing M'Donald of Dalness, only child of Captain George Downing of the Madras Army, and of Margaret Campbell M'Donald, daughter of Coll M'Donald of Dalness. She is grand-niece of Colonel A. Ranaldson M'Donell of Glengarry.
2. JOHN STUART of Kishorn, married in 1874 Mary Hay, daughter of Alexander Stewart of Achnacooan.
3. LILIAS, died unmarried.
4. JESSIE, married to Colonel Alexander Cameron Gleig of the Royal Artillery.

INNISCHAORAICH AND BOHALLIE.

DUGALD STEWART, the first of Innischaoraich, was second son of Duncan, third of Invernahyle. In 1656 he purchased the lands of Innischaoraich and others in Breadalbane, from Sir James Campbell of Lawers. He married, and had issue—1. Allan, who succeeded him; and 2. Niel.

ALLAN STEWART of Innischaoraich married a daughter of Burden of Fidals, and had a son, James, who succeeded him.

JAMES STEWART of Innischaoraich married a daughter of Stewart of Annat, and had two sons, who died unmarried.

NIEL STEWART of Botuarnie and Tullich in Glenlochay, afterwards of Edravinnoch in Glendochart, succeeded as heir to his nephew, James. He married, first, Jean, daughter of William Stewart of Drumchary in Fortingall, by whom he had John, who succeeded him; and, secondly, Jane Campbell, by whom he had no issue.

In an incursion by Ian Glas, the first Earl of Breadalbane, against the Sinclairs of Caithness in 1680, Niel was in command of the western division of the Breadalbane men ; and at the battle of Allt-na-Meirleach, near Wick, where the Sinclairs were defeated, and many of them slain ; he fought with such prowess at Ian's right hand, that it still forms subject of fireside talk in Breadalbane. The sword carried by Niel on this occasion is still intimately associated with the same division of the Breadalbane Highlanders, and worn by one of his descendants at their parades.

JOHN STEWART, of Edravinnoch, succeeded his father at his death in 1737, but only survived him by a few months. He married his cousin, Isabel, daughter of Patrick Stewart of Drumchary, by whom he had Charles, who succeeded him. He was out in 1715, under the Earl of Mar, and severely wounded. He described himself as surrounded by his assailants, like a stag amidst a pack of hounds, and obliged to fight his way through them.

CHARLES STEWART of Edravinnoch, afterwards of Bohallie, well known for his chivalrous bearing, succeeded his father, John. His relative, General David Stewart of Drumchary and Garth, in his "Sketches of Highlanders," thus describes him : "This gentleman was remarkable for his strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time, in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman." He was out with the clan in the 'forty-five, and severely wounded at Culloden. At the very hottest of the fight his sword broke, but hastily snatching up one from the side of a slain comrade, he fiercely continued the struggle. This sword is now in possession of C. A. M'Diarmid of Rockwood. He was helped by a friend from the field of battle, and mounted on an old white horse fortunately caught amongst the hills, and so brought home to Bohallie. In the year following, a detachment of soldiers was sent to *pacify* that district of Athole, and he, along with the Stewart lairds of Foss and Duntaulich, had to go into hiding in the wood of Kynachan. The watch was very close, and they were saved from frequent want by the tact of the dairymaid, who drove the milk cows daily through the wood, and in their direction. The officers were quartered upon David Stewart of Kynachan, to whose sister, Clementina, Charles was engaged in marriage, and it so happened that one evening as she was in the sitting-room spinning her wheel—the useful accomplishment of Highland ladies in those times—and talking to the officers, a servant entered and said she was wanted in the kitchen. Laying aside her wheel, and apologizing for her absence, she followed the servant, and found Charles, who had come in by a back window, accompanied by a clergyman, waiting for her. The marriage ceremony was soon over, and Charles having attained his wish of leaving her, in the event of his death, with the position and benefits accruing to his widow, returned by the back window to his hiding-place, whilst Clementina, with a happy yet anxious heart, returned to her entertainment of the officers.

It may be mentioned that David was wounded at Culloden, and as he never returned to Kynachan, an uncertainty hangs over his fate. He was last seen with a broken sword in his hand, fighting against two dragoons, who were sorely pressing him. He was taken prisoner, it is said, and along with some others of mark, confined in a barn, which was set fire to by orders of Cumberland, and the prisoners shot as they tried to escape. His name afterwards appears in the list of those excluded from the benefits of the Act of Indemnity.

By Clementina, Charles had Elizabeth, who succeeded him, and three other daughters, Jean, Anne, and Euphemia.

Elizabeth Stewart of Bohallie, married John M'Diarmid, Dunan, and had issue—
1. Charles M'Diarmid of Bohallie, who married Jane, daughter of John Stewart of Foss, and left issue, Charles Alexander M'Diarmid of Rockwood, Killin, and Donald Alexander M'Diarmid, Killiemore; 2. Grace, who married Donald Stewart of Glencripesdale (of the family of James Stewart of The Glens), and had issue—1. Alexander Stewart of Glencripesdale, who married Isabella, daughter of Joseph Stewart of Foss, by whom he has left a daughter, Margaret, married to Alexander Gallaway, Huntershill; 2. Charles Stewart of Tighnduin, Killin; 3. Elizabeth, who married John Stewart of Findynate, and left issue; and 4. Clementina, who married her cousin, C. A. M'Diarmid.

SLIOCHD AILEIN 'IC ROB.

THIS sept of the clan Stewart, commonly called the "M'Robs," received their name in consequence of their descent from a natural son of Robert Stewart, son of Dugald, first of Appin. The name of this illegitimate son seems to have been Alan, and he apparently had a son called Robert; for the sept was sometimes spoken of by the seannachies of the clan as Sliochd Rob Ailein 'Ic Rob, or the descendants of Robert, son of Alan, who was son of Robert. As early as the wars of Montrose, the "MacRobs" could of themselves, on an emergency, muster fifty broadswords so trusty and true, that an old bard of the sept speaks of them as the "back-bone" of the clan,—

"Cnaimh droma mo chinnidh
Bras 'am mire nan treun chath."
("The back-bone of our clan,
Eager in the excitement of the battles of heroes.")

The lands occupied by the "MacRobs" were Glenduror, Lettermore, and Acharn in Duror, which they held at first from Appin, but afterwards from Ardsheal, paying but a nominal rent, and looking upon their possessions almost as their own, subject only to the small rent payable by them. When in the winter of 1644-5 Montrose made his

memorable raid into the country of the Campbells, so graphically described in the "Legend of Montrose," the sept, as usual, formed part of the Appin regiment, and so distinguished themselves that their prowess was specially alluded to in the following verse of a poem written to commemorate Montrose's brilliant campaign in the West Highland's:—

"Thugh sibh an sgrìob a bha fearail
 Null gu fearann nan Drumhneach,
 Deadh Chlann Ian on Innean
 'S clann Ailein-ic-Rob o Ghleannduror."
 "That was a gallant raid of yours
 Into the lands of the Campbells,
 Bold MacIans from Glencoe's steep stithy,
 With the brave MacAllans-MacRobs of Glenduror."

When, after the battle of Culloden, Charles Stewart, fifth of Ardsheal, upon whose lands they lived, was in exile in France, the "MacRobs" voluntarily assessed themselves in the sum of one hundred pounds,—a large sum in those days,—which they sent to Ardsheal by a secret messenger, though they were at the same time paying a considerable rent to the Government. At the time when the Appin estate was sold, Allan Stewart, a "MacRob," an active and well-known man in Appin, was tenant of the island of Shuna, and was the subject of several verses still current in the Strath. He had a numerous family, and some of his sons rose to distinction in the military and civil services. Towards the end of last century many of the "MacRobs" emigrated to America, where they acquired extensive lands, held by their descendants at the present day.

The foregoing account of the "MacRobs" is by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, F.S.A. Scot., and F.R.P.S.E., minister of the parish of Ballachelish and Ardgour. Mr Stewart is well known as an accomplished naturalist and *litterateur* under the name of "Nether Lochaber." He is descended from Stewarts on both sides of the house for nine generations, his descent on the male side being from the Sliochd Ailein 'ic Rob. In 1715 Donald Stewart "MacRob" was tenant in Lettermore, and was wounded in the knee at Sheriffmuir, being known thereafter as Domhnuill crubach na Leitrich-more. He died at Letter-shuna in 1731, leaving two sons. The eldest, James, an Episcopal clergyman, died unmarried; the second, Robert, succeeded his father in Lettermore. Robert fought at Culloden, and for some time after the battle was in hiding, but after the Act of Indemnity returned to Lettermore. He died about 1768, leaving by his wife, who was of the family of Glenbuckie, a son James, who was for many years a tenant of a large grazing in Glenfinlas. James' son, Peter, died in 1793, well known and much respected as the schoolmaster of Ardgour. His son, David, for fifty years an officer of the Inland Revenue, was father of the Rev. Alexander Stewart, "Nether Lochaber," whose writings have done so much to make the public acquainted with the legends and natural history of the West Highlands.





A P P E N D I X.

Charter by King James II. to John, Lord Lorn, of the Lordship of Lorn, and the Baronies of Innermeath and Redcastle. Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. 4, No. 176. Dated 20th June 1452.

JACOBUS Dei gracia rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem : Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto consanguineo nostro Johanni domino le Lorn, totum et integrum dominium de Lorn cum pertinenciis, necnon totam et integram baroniam de Innermeth cum pertinenciis, jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Perth, ac omnes et singulas terras baronie de Redcastle cum pertinenciis, jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Forfar : quod dominium et baronie prescripte fuerunt dicti Johannis hereditarie, et quod et que idem Johannes non vi aut metu ductus, nec errore lapsus, sed sua mera et spontanea voluntate, in manus nostras apud Edinburgh coram subscriptis testibus personaliter per fustem et baculum sursum reddidit, pureque simpliciter resignavit, ac totum jus et clameum que in dictis dominio et baroniis cum pertinenciis habuit, seu habere potuit, pro se et heredibus suis omnino quietum clamavit imperpetuum : Tenendum et habendum dictum dominium de Lorn necnon predictas baronias de Innermeth et de Redcastle, cum vniuersis et singulis annexis, dependenciis et pertinenciis suis quibuscunque, Johanni domino le Lorn, et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis ; quibus forte deficientibus, Waltero Steuart fratri germano dicti Johannis et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis ; quibus forte deficientibus, Alano Steuart fratri eciam germano dicti Johannis domini le Lorn et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis ; quibus forte deficientibus, David Steuart, fratri germano dicti Johannis domini le Lorn et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis ; quibus forte deficientibus, Roberto Steuart fratri germano dicti Johannis et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis ; quibus forsitan deficientibus, Archibaldo

Steuart auunculo dicti Johannis domini le Lorn et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis; quibus forte deficientibus, Jacobo Steuart militi et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis; quibus fortasse deficientibus, Thome Steuart consanguineo dicti Johannis domini le Lorn et heredibus masculis corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis; quibus omnibus deficientibus, veris, legitimis et propinquiorebus heredibus dicti Johannis domini le Lorn quibuscunque de nobis et successoribus nostris, in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum, per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas, prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine, in boscis, . . . brasinis, brueriis et genestis, cum furca, fossa, sok sak, thol theme, infangandtheyf, outfangandtheyf, cum tenandiis, tenandriis, et libere tenencium seruiciis, cum communi pastura, liber introitu et exitu, columbis, columbariis, curiis et earum exitibus, herzelidis, bludwitis, et merchetis mulierum, ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus, commoditatibus, asiamentis ac justis pertinenciis suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis, ad supradictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus, seu quoquomodo juste spectare valentibus in futurum, et adeo libere, quiete, plenarie, integre, honorifice, bene et in pace, in omnibus et per omnia, sicut dictus Johannes dominus le Lorne aut sui predicesores, dictum dominium et terras cum pertinenciis, de nobis aut predicesoribus nostris, ante dictam resignationem nobis inde factam, libere tenuit seu possedit, tuerunt seu possiderunt. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostri magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus, testibus reuerendis in Christo patribus, Jacobo et Willelmo Sancti Andree et Glasguensis ecclesiarum episcopis, Willelmo domino Crechton nostro cancellario et consanguineo predilecto, dilectis consanguineis nostris Patricio domino de Ghrame, Alexandro domino Montgomery, Johanni domino le Lyndissay de Byris, Andrea domino le Gray, magistro hospicii nostri, magistro Johanni Arous, archidiacono Glasguensi, et Georgeo de Schoriswode rectore de Culter. Apud Edinburgh vicesimo die mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo et regni nostri decimo sexto.

Charter by King James II., including the lands of Ennerdony, Baldenys, Colndrane, Maw, Coltrane and Kyldeny, in the Barony of Innermeath. Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. 4, No. 177. Dated 20th June 1452.

JACOBUS Dei gracia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, dilecto consanguineo nostro Johanni Domino le Lorn, totam et integram baroniam de Innerneth cum pertinenciis, jacentem infra vicecomitatum de Perth: necnon omnes et singulas terras subscriptas, videlicet, totas et integras terras de Ennerdony

et Baldenys, jacentes in comitatu de Stratherne infra vicecomitatum de Perth; necnon terras de Coludrane et de Maw cum pertinenciis jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Fyf; necnon terras de Coltrane cum pertinenciis jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Kynros; necnon terras de Kyldeny cum pertinenciis, jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Perth: que baronia et terre supradicte cum pertinenciis fuerunt dicti Johannis domini le Lorne hereditarie et quas idem Johannes non vi aut metu ductus nec errore lapsus sed sua mera et spontanea voluntate in manus nostras apud Edinburgh per fustem et baculum coram testibus subscriptis personaliter sursum reddidit pureque simpliciter resignauit ac totum jus et clameum que in dictis baronia et terris cum pertinenciis habuit seu habere potuit pro se et heredibus suis omnino quietum clamauit imperpetuum. Quas omnes et singulas terras prescriptas cum vniuersis earundem pertinenciis dicte baronie de Innermeth incorporamus anneximus et vnimus pro perpetuo tenore presentis carte: Tenendam et habendam totam et integram baroniam predictam cum pertinenciis, vniuersis et singulis terris prescriptis, per nos ut premittitur dicte baronie anexis et vnitis, dicto Johanni domino le Lorn et heredibus suis, de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris, in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum, per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas, prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine, cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et asiamentis ac justis pertinenciis suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis, ad supradictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu quouismodo juste spectare valentibus in futurum, et adeo libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace in omnibus et per omnia, sicut predictus Johannes dominus le Lorn aut sui predecessores nominatas terras cum pertinenciis de nobis aut predecessoribus nostris antedictam resignacionem nobis inde factam liberior tenuit seu possedit tenuerunt seu possiderunt. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus testibus loco anno et die ut in precedenti carta anno regni nostri decimo sexto.

Charter by King James IV. to Duncan Stewart, son and heir of Dougal Stewart of Appin, in life-rent, of the lands of Coule of Durroure, Ardsell, Lagynhall, Auchincan, Auchindarack, Auchinblare, Bellecaulis, and Glencowyn. Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 13, No. 429. Dated 14th January 1500.

JACOBUS Dei gracia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint Salutem: Sciatis quod pro bono fidei et gratuito seruicio nobis per dilectum nostrum Duncanum Stewarte filium et heredem quondam Dungalli Stewart de Appin, impenso et impendendo, dedimus et concessimus ac tenore presencium damus et concedimus predicto Duncano, pro toto tempore vite sue, totas et integras viginti libratas terrarum nostrarum de Durroure subscriptas, viz.: septem mercatas terrarum de Coule de Durroure, septem mercatas terrarum de Ardsell et Lagynhall tres, mercatas terrarum de Auchincan, quinque

mercatas terrarum de Auchindarach et Auchinblare et tres mercatas terrarum de Bellecaullis ; Necnon totas et integras viginti mercatas terrarum de Glencowyn cum suis pertinenciis : extendentes in integro ad quinquaginta mercatas terrarum jacentium infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Perth. Quequidem terre cum pertinenciis fuerunt prius in manibus Johannis Makcoule, per donacionem nostram in minore etate nostra sibi desuper confectam, et nunc in manibus nostris existunt et iterim legitime deuenerunt, per nostram vltimam generalem reuocacionem ad perfectam etatem nostram viginti quinque annorum completorum factam de omnibus donacionibus per nos in minore etate nostra concessis. Tenendas et habendas totas et integras predictas viginti libratas terrarum de Durroure, viz : septem mercatas terrarum de Cowle de Durroure, septem mercatas terrarum de Ardsell et Lagynhall, tres mercatas terrarum de Auchincare, quinque mercatas terrarum de Auchindarach et Auchinblare, et tres mercatas terrarum de Bellecaullis, necnon viginti mercatas terrarum de Glencowyn predictas cum pertinenciis, dicto Duncano in feodo suo, pro toto tempore vite sue, pro suo bono et gratuito seruicio nobis vt premititur impenso et impendendo, per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine, in boscis planis moris maresiis viis semitis aquis stagnis riuolis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupacionibus venacionibus piscacionibus petariis turbariis carbonariis lapicidiis lapide et calce fabrilibus brasinis brueriis et genestis cum curiis et earum exitibus herezeldis bludwitis et merchetis mulierum, ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et aisiamentis ac justis pertinenciis suis quibuscumque, tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam supra terram procul et prope ad predictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum. Et cum potestate dicto Duncano predictas terras cum pertinenciis suis propriis bonis occupandi vel easdem tenentibus assedandi prout sibi melius videbitur expediens conueniens et oportunum durante vita sua libere quiete bene et in pace, sine aliqua reuocacione aut contradictione quacunque. Quare vniuersis et singulis quorum interest vel interesse poterit stricte precipimus et mandamus ne quis dicto Duncano siue subtenentibus aut seruitoribus in occupacione dictarum terrarum cum pertinenciis durante vita sua impedimentum seu obstaculum faciat sub omni pena que competere poterit in hac parte. Datum sub magno sigillo nostro, apud Striueling decimo quarto die mensis Januarii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo et regni nostri decimo tercio.

Decree against Ewin Alansoune and his followers, in favour of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, as Cessionar and Assignaye to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, for damages in the heirschip on Badenoch. Acts of the Lords of Council, 16th February 1507-8.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Ewin Alansoune Johnne Alanesoune his brother [and ninety-two followers therein named] sall content and pay to Archibald Erle of Ergile as cessionar

and assignaye to Alexander Erle of Huntlie lord Baidzenocht and Gillespy M^cWilliam and the remanent of the personis vnderwrittin thair sovmes and gudis as particularly followis quhilkis war masterfully spulzeit and awaytakin fra the saidis personis to quham the said Erle of Ergile is assignay, be the said Ewin Allanesoune Johne Alansone his brother and the remanent of the personis forwrittin thair complicis furtht of the braa of Baidzenocht, Garf Ayemoir and Glasterie the tym of the heirschip of the sammyn. That is to say, fra the said Gillaspie MakWilliam xl ky zoung and auld, xxx scheip, xx gait, vj hors, lx bollis of aitis xx bollis of beir and insicht gudis of houshald, extendin to xl^s [and seventy-nine others whose lost goods and gear are enumerated] the quhilkis gudis pertenit till the said Alexander Erle of Huntlie and to the saidis Gillaspie M^cWilliam Nele Roy and the remanent of the saidis personis his tennentis and vtheris with thair cottaris as is abone expremit, and now pertenit to the saide Archibald Erle of Ergile as sessionar and assignay to tham as thair lettres of powar and assignation made to him thairupon schawin and productit befor the lordis proportit and bur. And becaus that quhen the saide Erle of Ergile seruit our souerane lordis lettres of sumondis apoun the saidis Ewin Alanson and Johne his brother and thair complicis for the foirsaidis gudis and sovmez the saide Ewin and his saide brother and complicis spulzeit and tuke the saide sumondis fra Ewin M^cWilliam our souerane lordis scheref in that part contenit in the saide sumondis for the quhilk the saidis Ewin Alanson and Johne his brother war sumonit to compeir befor our souerane lord and his lordis of counsale at ane certane day bigan with certificatioun quhidder that thai comperit and deliuerit the saide sumondis or nocht the lordis of counsal forsaide wald procede and minister justice apoun the pointis of the samyn in sa fer as the saide Erle of Ergile wald mak faitht was contenit in thame, as the saide lettrez gevin thairupon deuly execut and indorsit schawin befor the saidis lordis proportit and bur at the quhilk terme the saide Erle previt sufficiently that the saidis gudis war contenit in the saide sumondis and that the saide Ewin Alanson and his brother tuke and spulzeit fra the saide scheref in that part the samin forsaide lettrez of sumondis and thairfor ordanis our souerane lordis lettrez to be direct to compell and distrenze thairfor. The saide Erle of Ergile being personally present and the saide Ewan Alanson and Johne his brother being lauchfully sumonit and chargeit be the saide last lettrez eftir the tenour abone expremit oftimez callit and nocht comperit.

Decree against Ewin Allanesoune and Duncan Stewart, in favour of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, for 500 merks in full contentment of the herschip on Badenoch. Acts of the Lords of Council, 9th February 1508-9.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Ewin Allanesoune and Duncan Stewart baitht personally present, of thair avine consent, coniunctly and seuerally renunceand the benefite of

diuision, sall content and pay till Archibald Erle of Ergill, the sovrne of five hundreth merkis vsuall monye of Scotland, betuix the dait herof and the feist of Mertimes in wynter nixt to cum in full contentatioun and asithment of the herschip of Baidzenach and the richt thairfor pertening to the said Archibald Erle of Ergile. And that our souerane lordis lettrez be direct to compell and distrenze thairfor eftir the passage of the said terme in dew form. And thairfor the said Erle transferrit in the saidis personis all rycht that he haid to the said herschip and gudis contenit in the decrete gevin thairuppoun at Edinburgh the xvj day of Februare the zere of God j^m v^c and sevin zeris.

Continuation of the Summons raised by Duncan Stewart of Appin, and certain of his Duror tenants, against Duart, Coll, and Ulva. Acts of the Lords of Council, 9th May 1509.

CONTINEWIS the summondis rasis at the instance of Duncane Stewart of Appin and certane his tennentis duelland apon his landis of Durroure agane Lauchlane M'Gillane of Dowarde, Johnne M'Cane Maklauchlane of Coll, and Dunslavy M'Vorich of Wlway, for the wrangis distruction and withhaldin fra the said Duncane and his said tennentis of xxx^d ky tua hors xx bollis of aitis, and diuers vther gudis, like as at mair lenth is contenit in the said summondis thairuppoun on to the xvj day of Junij nixt to cum with continuation of dais, in the samyn form force and effect as it is now, but preiudice of party, and ordanis the said Duncane and his tennentis to haue lettres to summond the witnes that wer summonit of befor and comperit nocht to be summonit vnder gretar panis, and ma witnes gif thai plese, agane the said day, the said Duncane being present for him self and his tenentis. And that the remanent of the said personis be warnit of this continuation and to here the witnes suorne.

Continuation of the Summons raised by Duncan Stewart of Appin, and certain of his Appin tenants, against Duart, Coll, and Ulva. Acts of the Lords of Council, 19th May 1509.

CONTINEWIS the summondis rasis at the instance of Duncane Stewart of Appin and certane his tennentis duelland apon his landis of Appin agane Lauchlane M'Gillen of Doward, Johnne M'Cane M'Clachlane of Coll, and Dunslavy M'Vorich of Wlway, for the wrangis distruction and withhalding fra the said Duncane and his tenentis of ane galay of xxxij airis, price L^{li} and diuers vtheris gudis, like as at mar lenth is contenit in the said summondis, onn to the xvj day of Junij nixt to cum with continuation of dais, in the samyn forme force and effect as it is now, but preiudice

of party. And ordanis the said Duncane and his tenentis to haf lettrez to summond the witness that war summond of befor and comperit nocht to be summond vnder gretar panis and ma witnes gif thai plese agane the said day. The said Duncane being present for him self and his said tenentis. And that the remanent of the said personis be warnit of this continewation and to here the witnes suorne.

CONTINEWIS the summondis rasit at the instance of Duncane Stewart of Appin, and certane his tennentis duelland apoun his landis of Appin, agane Lauchlane Makgilleon of Doward, Johnne Makcane M'Lauchlane of Coll, and Dunslevy M'Vorich of Vlway, for the wranguis spoliatioun and withhaldin fra the said Duncane and his tennentis of xx ky with thar followaris, and diuers vtheris gudis, like as at mar lentht is contenit in the said summondis on to the xvj day of Junij nixt to cum, with continuation of days, in the samyn forme force and effect as it is now but preiudice of party. And ordanis the said Duncane and his tennentis to haf lettrez to summond the witnes that war summond of befor and comperit nocht to be summond vnder gretar panis and maa witnes gif thai plese agane the said day. The said Duncane being present for him self and his tenentis. And that the remanent of the said personis be warnit of this continuation and to here the witnes suorne.

Decree against Duart, Coll, and Ulva, for damages, in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin and his Appin tenants. Acts of the Lords of Council, 21st July 1509.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Lauchlane M'Gilleoun of Dowart, Johne M'Cane M'Lauchlane of Coll, and Dunslevy M'Vorich of Vlway, sall content and pay to Duncane Stewart of Appin, and to thir persounis his tennentis vnderwritten, duelland apoun his landis of Appin, thair gudis particulare efter following that is to say to Johne M'Ilbride xx^d ky with thare followaris, tua hors and lx bollis of aitis: Johne Duff M'Wicar xv ky with thair followaris and tua hors; Gillecrist Maknerrane xl ky with thair followaris, iiii hors and lx bollis of aitis; Finla Makgillecallum Makcolluff xxii ky with thair followaris; Nene Donill Maklauchlane xl ky with thair followaris; Johne Roy M'Culloiff xv ky with thair followaris; Finla M'Donill Makdwill M'Kennyth x ky with thair followaris; Johne Smytht xii ky with thair followaris, and tua hors; Ewin Maksorlee v^{xx} of ky with thair followaris, and iiij hors; Gillecallum Moyll xxij hors, xij scor of ky with thair followaris, ij^e schepe, j^e gait, iij^e bollis of aitis, and xl bollis of bere; Katrine Nenesorlee xxx^d ky with thair followaris; Dugall Makolcallum v^{xx}xiiij ky with thair followaris; Lauchlane Makolcollum xv ky

with their followaris. The quhilkis gudis pertinit to the said Duncane and to his tennentis abonewritin particulare as said is, and war spulzeit and away takin be the saidis Lauchlane M'Gilleoun, Johne Makcane M'Lauchlane, and Dunsblay Makworich, and their complicis out of the said landis of Appin like as was sufficiently previt before the saidis lordis. And ordanis our souerane lordis lettres to be direct to compell and distrenze thairfor in dew forme as efferis. The said Duncane being personally present for him self and as procuratour for his said tennentis and the remanent of the saidis personis being lauchfully summonit to this actioun oftimez callit and nocht comperit.

Decree against Duart, Coll, and Ulva, for damages, in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin and his Duror tenants. Acts of the Lords of Council, 21st July 1509.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Lauchlane M'Gilleon of Doward, Johnne M'Cane M'Lauchlane of Coll, and Dunsblay M'Vorich of Vlway, sall content and pay till Duncane Stewart of Appin and thir persounis his tenentis vnderwritin duellin apone his laundis of Durrou, thir gudis particulare efter followin, that is to say, to Malcome M'Nerane xxx^{ij} ky tua hors xxx^{ij} bollis of ait^{is}; Archibald M'Kene M'Gillmichell xxx^{ij} ky with their followaris, tua hors, xxx^{ij} b ait^{is}; Gillcrist Makduncane Roy xxx^{ij} ky, ij hors xx^{ij} iii^{ij} b ait^{is}; Donald Revach Makellop xxxv ky with their followaris, and ij hors, xxviii^{ij} b ait^{is}; Alexander Stewart vj^{xx} ky with their followaris, xij hors, ij^e b ait^{is}; M'Gillegyll Johne Moir and Kynneith M'Vicar v^{xx} ky with their followaris, vj hors, lx^{ij} b ait^{is}; Johnne Makane Maksorle, Duncane Glas and Fynla Makduncane Roy, lx ky with their followaris, iiij hors, lxxx^{ij} b ait^{is}, price of the pece of the said ky with their followaris xx^s price of the pece of ilk hors ourhede xl^s, price of ilk boll of ait^{is} iiij^s. The quhilkis gudis pertinit to the said Duncane and his said tennentis and war spulzeit and awaytakin be the saidis Lauchlane Johne M'Cane and Dunsblay M'Vorich and their complicis o[ut] of the said Duncanis landis of Durrou forsaid . . . as was sufficiently previt before the saidis lordis. And thairfor ordanis that our souerane lordis lettres be direct to com[pell] and distrenze thairfor: the said Duncane being personally present for him self and as procuratour for his said tenentis, and the remanent of the saidis personis being lauchfully summonit to this actioun oftimez callit and nocht comperit.

Decree against Duart, Coll, and Ulva, for damages, in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin and his Appin tenants. Acts of the Lords of Council, 21st July 1509.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Lauchlane M'Gilleon of Doward, John Makcane Maklauchlane of Coll, and Dunsblay M'Vorich of Vlway, sall content and pay to

Duncane Stewart of Appin and thir personis his tenentis vnderwritten duelland apon his landis of Appin, thir gudis and monye particularly efter following, that is to say to the said Duncane Stewart ane galay of xxxij airis, price L^{li}, ane boit of x airis price x merkis, ane boit of viij airis price viij merk, and tua boitis ilkane of tham of four airis price iiij merkis; Malcum Makvicar xxxiiij ky with thair followaris; Johne Makgeig xiiij ky with thair followaris; Katrine Nenelauchlane vj ky; Archibald Maketre, Mulmory M'Kere and Johne M'Ylnor lx of ky with thair followaris, foure hors, jc bollis of aitis; Gillecrist Awgh xl ky with thair followaris; Gillecillum Moyll xli^{li} of monye; Alexander Stewart vther xli^{li}; Johne Makdoule Makintyre xxiii ky with thair followaris; Duncane Makene Makdonach xxxij ky with thair followaris; Gillemertyne Makere xij ky, and Johne Fischar viii ky, price of the pece of the said ky with thair followaris xx^s, price of the pece of the said hors ourhede xl^s, price of ilk boll of aitis iiij^s. The quhilk gudis and sovmes pertinit to the said Duncane and his said tennentis and war spulzeit and takin fra tham be the saidis Lauchlane, Johne M'Cane, and Duns-lavy Makvorich, and thair complicis, like as was sufficiently previt befor the saidis lordis. And als sall content and pay to the saide Duncane the sovme of jc xx merkis vsuall monye of Scotland of male, with vtheris dewiteis, cheis and wedderis, extending to xli^{li} zerlie be the space of thre zeris nixt efter the spoliation of the said gudis, for the halding waist of the said Duncanis landis of Appin and Durroure be the saidis personis and thair complicis, as was elikewis previt befor the said lordis. And ordanis our souerane lordis lettrez to be direct to compell and distrenze thairfore in dew forme as efferis; the said Duncane being personally present for him self and as procuratour for his said tenentis, and the remanent of the saidis personis being lauchfully summonit to this actioun oftymes callit and nocht comperit.

Charter of Apprisement by King James IV. in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin, over the lands of Duart. Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. 16. Dated 8th April 1510.

JACOBUS Dei gracia Rex Scotorum: Omnibus probis hominibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis Salutem: Sciatis quod nostras direximus literas certis vicecomitibus nostris in hac parte, eis mandantes et precipientes ad compellendum et dstringendum Lauchlanum Makgilleon de Dowart, terras et bona sua, pro summa quatuor millium et quingentarum mercarum vsualis monete regni nostri, super ipsum per dilectum nostrum Duncanum Stewart de Appin coram concilii nostri dominis recuperata et optenta. Et quia dictus Lauchlanus in bonis mobilibus ipsius bonis ascrutatis et non repertis pro dicta summa dstringibilis non extitit, ideo

sibi per nostras alias literas per deliberacionem dictorum dominorum postea directas, precepimus et mandavimus quod ipse Lauchlanus infra quadraginta dies huiusmodi mandatum immediate sequentes, ad terras et hereditatem suam intraret, de quibus ipse cartam nostram cum precepto sasine habuit, per nos sibi desuper confectam, postquam huiusmodi terre in manibus nostris forisfacte fuerunt, sic quod prefatus Duncanus easdem sibi appretiare poterat pro huiusmodi summa, per ipsum super dictum Lauchlanum ut premittitur recuperata et obtenta; sibi Lauchlano certificantes quod si ipse in hoc deficerat, et ad huiusmodi terras intrare neclexerat, lapsis dictis quadraginta diebus, nos tanquam dominus superior dictarum terrarum ipsum Duncanum nobis in tenentem earundem recipere volumus, prout in dictis nostris literis per dilectum nostrum David Tempilman nuncium et vicecomitem nostrum in hac parte debite executis et indorsatis plenius continetur. Et quia dictus Lauchlanus sasinam dictarum terrarum et hereditatis sue accipere recusavit, et ad easdem intrare noluit, secundum tenorem huiusmodi literarum nostrarum, lapsis dictis quadraginta diebus completis, ad huiusmodi sasinam in fraudem et preiudicium sepedicti Duncani sui creditoris omnino postposuit, ideo prefati consilii nostri Domini nobis consuluerunt ad recipiendum ipsum Duncanum nobis in tenentem de tantis prefati Lauchlani terris sicut se extendunt ad valorem supradicte summe quatuor millium et quingentarum mercarum, et ipsum in eisdem infeodare per cartam et sasinam nostras. Et nos huiusmodi consilium perutile et rationi consonum considerantes, ideo dedimus et concessimus et confirmavimus, et hac presenti carta nostra damus et confirmamus hereditarie dicto Duncano Stewart de Appin, omnes et singulas terras et officia subscripta, que dicto Lauchlano ante forisfacturam earundem spectabant et pertinebant, viz.: totas et integras terras de Dowart, extendentes ad vnam denariatam terrarum, cum castro earundem, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardthorh, duas denariatas terrarum de Thoirchormaigh, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardnagros, duas denariatas terrarum de binis Barnawfrane duas denariatas terrarum de Auchnauchcraighe, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardnadhrogit, duas denariatas terrarum de binis Glennannis, vnam denariatam terrarum de Tulkelis, vnam denariatam terrarum de Auchtabigh, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardkeill, tres oblatas terrarum de binis Thornaskeah, vnam denariatam terrarum de Glenkeill, vnam denariatam terrarum de Blareboy, jacentem infra terras de Schorissay, vnam denariatam de Kilfadrigh, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardkinsinis, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ormussaige, tres denariatas terrarum de tribus Chorris, vnam denariatam terrarum de Kilmuagh, vnam denariatam terrarum de Nagros, vnam denariatam terrarum de Naigele, jacentem infra terras de Brolos, tres oblatas terrarum de Fregittill, tres oblatas terrarum de Calwegar, vnam denariatam terrarum de Soneboll, vnam denariatam terrarum de Gilcriste, vnam denariatam terrarum de

Laigh, vnam denariatam terrarum de Challich duas denariatas terrarum de Areyn, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ymgway, vnam oblatam terrarum de Pennymore et Adirenis, septem denariatas terrarum de Chressenis, vnam denariatam terrarum de Chorssay, jacentem infra terras de Morinche, vnam denariatam terrarum de Bowrich, duas oblatas terrarum de Kilinchane, vnam denariatam terrarum de Challemore, vnam denariatam terrarum de Vlluch, vnam denariatam terrarum de Ardbalkuich, vnam denariatam terrarum de Kenloch, vnam denariatam terrarum de Dorferich, tres oblatas terrarum de Duschoring, tres oblatas terrarum de Aremelkeyn, vnam denariatam terrarum de Drumgrane, vnam denariatam terrarum de Chorsboill, vnam oblatam terrarum de Knoighoir, duas denariatas terrarum de Enighsay, vnam denariatam terrarum de Glaichvgare, tres oblatas terrarum de Ardeskin, tres oblatas terrarum de Regdill, vnam denariatam terrarum de Chorsloke, vnam oblatam terrarum de Nenoe, duas denariatas terrarum de binis Fanemore, vnam oblatam terrarum de Erdnely, vnam denariatam terrarum de Kilmichaell, tres oblatas terrarum de Corthamore, vnam denariatam terrarum de Oskemore, vnam denariatam terrarum de Bowrich, vnam denariatam terrarum de Thynniddale, et vnam oblatam terrarum de Baigh, antiqui extentus, cum suis pertinenciis, Jacentes in insulis nostris de Mule et Teree et infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Perth, vnam officii Senescallatum de Teree et Mule, cum suis feodis, libertatibus deuoriis et hominum seruiciis, sicut quondam ipsius Lauchlani pater habuit et possidebat tempore quo ipse senescallus eorum fuerat, quinque mercatas terrarum in Duray nuncupatarum Ardbanich, Cammis, Terbert, Croagh, Glennamuke, Hvanagelle, et Mylwoy, extendentium ad vnam denariatam terrarum antiqui extentus cum suis pertinenciis, Jacentium in insula de Dura, et infra vicecomitatum nostrum predictum; ac totas et integras terras de Dunanwldach et Achataymolen, extendentes ad decem mercatas terrarum antiqui extentus cum suis pertinenciis, jacentes in Knapnadale et infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Tarbert, et duodecim mercatas terrarum de Garmorane Auchnadialla, extendentes ad sex mercatas cum dimidia mercate terrarum sex mercatas cum dimidia mercate terrarum de Corremyll, tres mercatas terrarum de Cammask, tres mercatas terrarum de Thomelekebeg, tres mercatas terrarum de Dowane, tres mercatas terrarum Thowmcarrigh antiqui extentus cum suis pertinenciis, jacentes in Lochaber et infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Inuernes, vnam officio senescallatus de Garmorane, cum libertatibus proficuis deuoriis et hominum seruiciis eiusdem, sicut dictus quondam ipsius Lauchlani pater habuit. Que omnes et singule terre suprascripte in integro extendunt ad centum et octo libras terrarum antiqui extentus cum pertinenciis, et dictum Duncanum et heredes suos nobis in tenentes earundem recipientes, et dictum Lauchlanum et heredes suos virtute acti nostri parlamenti super debito confecti de eisdem destituentes: Tenendas et habendas totas et integras predictas terras et officia suprascripta cum suis feodis

et libertatibus proficuis deuoriis et huiusmodi seruiciis predictis viz. : terras de Dowart cum castro earundem Ardthorh, Thoirghormaich, Ardnagros, terras de binis Barnawfrane, Auchnachcraghe, Ardnadhrogit, terras de binis Glennannis, Tulkelis Auchtabich, Ardkeill, terras de binis Thornaskeah, Glencarrell, Blareboy, Kilfadrigh, Ardknesins, Ormissaigh, terras de tribus Chorris Kilnuach, Nagros, Nageill, Fregittill, Calwegar, Soneboll, Gilcrist, Laigh Challich Areyn Ymgway Pennymore, Ardyrenis, Thressenis Chorssay, Bovrigh, Killinchane, Callemore, Vlluch, Ardalkinch, Kenloch, Darferiche, Duschoring, Aremelkeyn, Drumgrane, Chorisboill, Knokhoir, Enighsay, Glaschvgare, Ardskin, Regdill, Thorsloskye, Nenoe, terras de binis Fanemore, Ardnaly, Kilmichael, Cortamore, Oskemore, Bowrigh, Tennidaill, Baigh, vncum officiis Senescallatum de Teree et Mule, cum suis feodis libertatibus deuoriis et hominum seruiciis, terras de Duray nuncupatas Ardbannich, Cammis, Terbert, Chroagh, Glennamuk, Hvannageill Milroy, terras de Dunanwldach, et Achataymolen, terras de Garmorane, Auchanadialla, Corremyll, Cammask, Thomelekebeg, Dowane, Thowmcarrigh, vncum officio Senescallatus de Garmorane, cum libertatibus proficuis deuoriis et hominum seruiciis eiusdem cum suis pertinenciis, dicto Duncano et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum, per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine, in boscis planis moris marresiis viis semitis aquis stagnis riuolis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupacionibus venacionibus piscacionibus petariis turbariis carbonariis lapidiis lapide et calce fabrilibus brasinis bruariis et genestis cum curiis et earum exitibus herezeldis bludwitis et merchetis mulierum cum furca fossa sok sak, tholl, theme, infangtheif outfangtheif pitt et gallous, cum castris turribus fortaliis et mansi-onibus terrarum predictarum cum tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenencium seruiciis earundem, cum communi pastura libero introitu et exitu cum similibus libertatibus et huiusmodi priuilegiis ac aliis proficuis dictorum senescallatum: Et cum potestate eisdem libere gaudendi vtendi et exercendi adeo libere sicut quondam ipsius Lauchlani pater aut predecessores sui easdem prius tenuit seu possedit tenuerunt seu possiderunt, ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et asiamentis ac iustis suis pertinenciis quibuscumque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam supra terram procul et prope ad predictas terras castram et officia cum suis feodis libertatibus proficuis deuoriis et hominum seruiciis predictis cum suis pertinenciis spectantibus seu inste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua reuocacione, impedimento aut contradiccione quibuscumque Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Duncanno et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris wardam et releuium dictarum terrarum et officiorum debitum et consuetum. Et non obstante presenti nostra donacione et infeodacione volumus et ordinamus pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod dictus Lauchlanus

et heredes sui habeat et habeant plenum regressum et ingressum in et ad omnes et singulas terras et officia predicta cum pertinentiis quandocunque persoluerit vel persoluerit dicto Duncan heredibus suis vel assignatis dictam summam quatuor millium et quingentarum mercarum vnacum expensis que super nos tanquam dominum superiorem pro nostris carta et infeodatione facte fuerint Dummodo solutionem huiusmodi infra septennium datam presentium proximo et immediate sequentem iuxta tenorem dicti acti parlamenti faciant et perimpleant, firmis tamen et proficuis dictarum terrarum et officiorum per dictum Duncanum et heredes suos interim percipiendum vsque redempcionem earundem in solucione dicte summe et expensarum minime computandarum secundum tenorem dicti Acti parlamenti. In cuius Rei testimonium presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus, Testibus ut in tercia carta precedenti apud Edinburgh octauo die mensis Aprilis Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo decimo et Regni nostri vicesimo secundo.

Offer by the Earl of Argyll of his own security for Duart. Acts of the Lords of Council, 1st March 1512.

MY Lord Erll of Ergile forspekar for Makclane, askit ane Instrument that he offerit him reddy baith for the said Makclane and for him self to fulfill thair part of the decrete arbitrale gevin betwix the said Makclane and Duncane Stewart, and thairfor protestit gif the said Duncane Stewart wald gang fra the said decrete that it suld nocht turn the said Makclane to preiudice sen he was reddy as said is : *hora secunda.*

Claim by David, Bishop of Argyll, of his Share of the Composition payable to Appin by Duart under the Arbitral Decree. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2nd March 1512.

DAVID bishop of Ergile protestit gif the remission that the Erll of Ergile suld get to Duncan Stewart and his tennentis, fell within the date of his lettre that he has of the King, that he nicht haf his part of the Composition according to his said lettre, and askit this claus of the decrete arbitral gevin betwix Makclane and the said Duncan to be insert in the Instrument *videlicet* And sall gif to the said Duncan his tennentis and seruandis the Kingis remissioun of all crimes and offensis committit be thame siclik as the men of Lorn has gottin the samyn and of the samyn date, thai payand thairfor siclike as the tennentis and men of Lorn pais : *hora secunda.*

Decree against Archibald Earl of Argyll, as security for Duart, in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin for 1040 merks. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2nd March 1512.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Archibald Erll of Ergile of his avin consent as borgh and dettour for Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart, sall content and pay to Duncan Stewart of Appin the sovm of ane thousand and fourty merkis vsuall money of Scotland.

Petition by Duart and Appin that the strength of a Decree might be given to the award made in favour of the latter by Five Arbitrators at Edinburgh on 19th February 1512. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2nd March 1512.

COMPERIT Lauchlane M'Gillane of Dowart on the ta part, and Duncane Stewart of Appin on the tother part, and gaif in this decrete arbitrale vnderwrittin, and desirit the samyn to be put in form of act and to haif the strenth of the decrete of the saidis lordis in tyme to cum, of the quhilk the tenour followis : At Edinburgh the nyntene day of Februar the zeir of God jm^o v^o and xij zeris We Dauid bischop of Galloway, Alexander Erle of Huntlie, Archibald Erle of Ergile, Williame Erle of Erroll, and William Scot of Baluery, Jugis arbitratouris and amicable compositouris comonelic chosin betwix Lauchlane M'Gillane of Dowart for him his frendis men and seruandis on the ta part, and Duncane Stewart of Appyn, for him his friendis men and seruandis on the tother, part anent the clame of the sovme of aucht thousand merkis clamit be the said Duncane and optenit be the said Duncane befor the lordis of counsale, and anent the Richt and clame of the landis apprisit to the said Duncane for the said sovme, and vtheris sovmez pertenyng to the said M'Gillane, and apon all vthir debatis clamez wrangis spoulzeis vnkyndenes herschippis slaughteris committit or thiftis committit be thame thair frendis men and seruandis and anerdance to thame in ony tyme bigane befor the day of the date hereof Wee the saidis Jugis all in ane voce decretis deliueris and gevis for sentence arbitrale, with consent of the saidis partys and in presens of thame, that the said Lauchlane M'Gillane sall in hale contentatioun assithment and payment of the said sovmez of viij^m merkis . . . content and pay to the said Duncan the sovme of jm^o and xl merkis in maner and form efter following. That is to say, to James Stewart, Alanys son, for the Redemption and losing of the landis of Glenrevern pertenyng to the saide Duncan, the sovme of lxxx^{li}; and to Alane Stewart bruther to the said Duncan for the redemptioun and losing of the landis callit Twaletter pertenyng to the said Duncan, the sovme of xl^{li}; and to the airs of vmquhill Duncan Makcowle for the redemption of the landis of the four merk

land of Arthur, the twa-merk land of the lard Grenocht, and the twa-merk land of Killard, pertenyng to the said Duncan, xl^s; quhilk landis war analyt be the said Duncane, and sall mak the heretage of the saidis landis fred and dischargit of the said alienationis sa that the said Duncan may lefullie enter to the Witsounday male of the forsaid land as his heretage and as he had befor the alienatioun thair of : Sauffand to the said James, Alane, and M'Cowlis airis, the takkis of the said landis gif thai ony haif and suld haif be thair Reuersionis; and the remanent of the said sovme quhilk is viij^c merkis to be pait to the said Duncan Stewart [at sundry specified terms within two years and twenty days, the said Lauchlane finding sufficient security for due payment of the same] and the said sourte being fundin, the said Duncane sall resigne renunce quyteclame and discharge the apprising led upon the said Lauchlanys landis for the said sovme of viij^m merkis . . . and the said Lauchlan and Duncan sall gif sufficient lettres of slaynis and discharge to vtheris of all actioun of slauchter etc. . . . and sall tak vtheris in hartly and afauld kyndenes and tendernes and neur to commit brek iniur wrang or vnkyndenes till vtheris in tyme to cum . . . and the said Duncan sall leif and gif over to our souerane lord the lивerent or heretage that he has of threttene merk-land that lvis besyde the castell of Innerlochquhy and allegit to pertene to the said Lauchlane in heretage, and sall neur to intronet thairwith, nor with na vthir heretage pertenyng to the said Lauchlane in tyme to cum, and als the said Lauchlane sall caus the said Archibald Erle of Ergile . . . to remit and forgif to the said Duncane the ane hundretht merkis that the said Duncan aucht to the said Erle of Ergile and to Sir Duncan Campbell his eme for the releif and mariage of the said Duncane, the said Duncane mariand with the said Erlis avise in a place resonable quhar the said Erle is contentit of, and gif thai wary thairapon that variance to be modifeit be the counsale of the remanent of the Jugis beforwritin, and als the said Erle promittis to remit and discharge . . . al vnlawis and vthir clamez and actionis that the said Erle has to ask or craif at the said Duncane his tennentis and seruandis in ony tyme bigane . . . and sall do his diligence to caus Sir Duncan Campbell his eme to do the samyn; and als the said Erle sall Renew the Infestment quhilk the said Duncan has of the landis of the Appin . . . and sall gif to the said Duncan his tennentis and seruandis the Kingis remissioun of all crymez and offensis committit be thame, siclik as the men of Lorn has gottin the samyn and of the samyn date: Thay payand thairfor siclik as the tennentis and men of Lorn pais thairfor, and the said Duncan salbe trew man and seruand to the said Erle and kepe a gude part to him aganis all personis his allegiance to our souerane lord; And the said Erle salbe trew maister to the said Duncan and kepe afauld part to him in his justice and honest materis and decretis: and ordanis this oure decrete to be fulfillit and kept in all punctis and specialie in kyndenes and hertlynes in tyme to cum [The party failing to the other to be subject to certain specified

penalties] and our decrete to be deliuerit to the partys in forme of Instrument . . . The quhilk desire the saidis lordis thocht ressonable and thairfor decernit and ordanit [accordingly in the usual terms.]

Note.—The latter clauses refer to Appin's duties as holding certain lands from the Earl of Argyll, or his "eme," Glenorchy, as detailed at pages 96-7.

Decree against Archibald Earl of Argyll in favour of Duncan Stewart of Appin for the sum of 1040 merks awarded by the Arbiters. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2 March 1512.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Archibald Erl of Ergile, of his avin consent as souerte and dettour for Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart, sall red content and pay to Duncan Stewart of Appin, the sovme of J^m and xl merkis vsuall money of Scotland contenit in ane Decrete Arbitrale gevin betwix the saidis partiis of befor and efter the form and at the termes of payment contenit in the said decrete arbitrale of the date of the xix day of Februar the zeir of God J^m v^c and xij zeirs, and thairfor ordanis our souerane lordis letterz to be direct to compell and distrenze the said Erl his landis and gudis thairfor efter the form of the said decrete arbitrale and efter the passage of the termes contenit thairintill in dew form as efferis.

Decree that Duart and Lochbuy shall keep the Earl of Argyll scaithless in respect of the sum of 1040 merks, due by the Earl to Duncan Stewart of Appin. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2nd March 1512.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart and Johne Makclane of Louchboy, of thair avn consent coniunctly and seueraly renunciand the benefite of diuisioun, sall freith releif and keip skaithles Archibald Erl of Ergile of the sovme of J^m xl merkis vsuall money of Scotland, for the quhilk sovme the said Erl is becumit dettour and souerte to Duncan Stewart of Apin for the said Lauchlane Makgilleane of Dowart, efter the form of the decrete arbitrale gevin betwix the said Duncan and Lauchlane of the date of the xix day of Februar the zere of God j^m v^c xij zeris and at the termes contenit thairintill sik like as he is bund and actit to the said Duncan, and that our souerane lordis lettrez be direct apon thame thairuppon to distrenze thame for the releif of the said Erl termly as efferis.

Decree that Duart shall keep Lochbuy scaithless in respect of the before-mentioned sum of 1040 marks. Acts of the Lords of Council, 2nd March 1512.

DECRETIS and deliueris that Lauchlane Makgillane of Dowart of his avn consent sall freith releif and keip skaithles Johne Makclane of Louchboy of the sovm of j^m and xl merkis of the quhilk the said Johne is bund with the said Lauchlane to releif Archibald Erll of Ergile at the handis of Duncan Stewart of Appin, and the quhilk sovm the said Erll is actit to pay to the said Duncan as souerte for the said Lauchlane, efter the form and at the termez contenit in the decrete arbitrale gevin betuix the said Lauchlane and Duncan And ordanis our souerane lordis lettrez to be direct to compell and distrenze the said Lauchlane to the releif of the said Johne his landis and gudis thairfor termly as efferis.

Charter by King James IV. to Duncan Stewart of Appin of the Lands of Inverlochy, Terelondy, Drummysoure, and Auchintoir. Registrum Magni Sigilli. Lib. xviii. 93. Dated 9th July 1512.

CARTA vitalis redditus Duncano Stewart de Appin, facta pro suo bono et gratuito servicio regi impenso, ac pro deliberacione et donacione domino regi de una gallia triginta sex remorum, de terris de Inverlochy, Terelondy, Drummysoure et Auchintoir cum pertinenciis, jacentibus in dominio de Lochabir infra vicecomitatum de Invernys: de data apud Edinburgh nono Julij, anno regni regis vicesimo quinto (1512).

Petition by Sir John Campbell of Calder on the one part, and Lochel and Appin on the other, that the Arbitral Decree in the questions at issue between them shall be inserted in the Books of Council. Acts of the Lords of Council 12th November 1528.

IN presens of the lordis of Consale comperit Johnne Campble of Caldor Knycht on that ane part and Ewine Allansoune of Lochelze, capitane of the Clanchamron, and Allane Stewart of Durror on that vthir part, and gaif in this decrete arbitrale . . . desirand the samin to be insert in the bukis of counsal . . . of the

quhilk the tenour followis At Edinburgh the viij day of November the zeir of God ^{j^m} v^e and xxviiij zeris Maister Donald Campble nominat to Cowpar, Archibald Campble of Skippinche, Alexander M'Ane M'Alexander of Glengarry, and Johne M'Allane M'Donile Duff, amicable copositouris evinly chosin and suorne be rycht honorable men Sir Johne Campble of Caldor Knycht Ewyne Allansoune of Lochelze capitane of Clanchamron and Allane Stewart of Durror, anentis all maner of actionis querelis clamis scathis slaughteris or quhatsumeuir debatable materis that happynnit betuix the said Sir John and the saidis Ewyne and Allane affor the dait hairfo The saidis partijs beand oblist and sworn to abyde and stand at the saidis personis decrete and deliuerance with thair awine consentis, Decretis deliueris and for sentence gevis . . . that . . . the saidis partijs sall remit and forgef . . . vtheris all maner of rancour displesour and malice that euir happynnit betuix thame to the day and dait hereof, and sall tak vtheris in als gude hartlynes and kyndnes as sick thingis neur happinit betuix thame: And for certane scathis that the said Sir Johne hes gottin be the saidis Ewyn and Allane and thair complices The saidis Ewyn and Allane sall content and pay to him the sovm of iiij^e ^{li} . . . and sall gef to him for thame thair barnys kyn and frendis thair band of manrent incontrary all maner of man, the kingis grace and my lord of Ergile alanerlie beand exceptit: And for thair said band of manrent and thair thankfull seruice in tymes tocum the said Sir John sall remit and forgef the saidis Ewyne and Allane the sovme of iij^e ^{li} . . . and the said Sir Johne sal gif to the saidis Ewine and Allane his band of mantenance incontinent als sone as he resaifis thair band of manrent . . . subscriuit [as before mentioned] befor thir witnes Walter Campble capitane of Skipinche, John M'Lauchlane, John Mungumry, Sir John M'Phale, Chaplane, Angus M'Angus, and maister Donald Bron notar public with vtheris diuers.

Charter by King James V., to Alan Stewart, of the lands of Cowll and Glen-callachane, Ardsell, Lagnahall, Ballychelis, Auchnanderrach, Auchycarn, Auchycar and Auchinblare, and Glencoune. Registrum Magni Sigilli. Lib. xxv. 184. Dated 7th December 1538.

JACOBUS Dei gracia Rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem. Sciatis quia nostras post legitimam et perfectam etatem vigintiquinque annorum completorum, et nostram generalem reuocacionem ac post dissolucionem per quondam nobilissimum patrem nostrum Jacobum Quartum bone memorie, cuius anime propicietur Deus, cum auisamento et consensu trium regni statuum in parlamento

suo facto, super annexacionibus terrarum corone sue, pro assedacione earundem in feodifirma et hereditate, pro policia et edificacionibus infra regnum suum habendis, in augmentacionem sui rentalis et proficuum patrimonii corone sue, cum auisamento et consensu compotorum nostrorum rotulatoris, dedimus concessimus et ad feodifirmam dimisimus, et hac presenti carta nostra damus concedimus et ad feodifirmam hereditarie dimittimus, dilecto consanguineo et seruitori nostro Alano Stewart in Lorne, omnes et singulas terras nostras subscriptas viz: viginti libratas terrarum de Durroure prout sequuntur viz: septem mercatas terrarum de Cowll et Glencallachane, septem mercatas terrarum de Ardsell et Lagmahall, tres mercatas terrarum de Ballychelis, quinque mercatas terrarum de Auchnanderrach, tres mercatas terrarum de Auchycarne, quinque mercatas terrarum Auchycar et Auchinblare, ac totas et integras viginti mercatas terrarum de Glenkovne, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, jacentes in dominio nostro insularum infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Perth, extendentes annuatim in rentalis nostro ad summam quinquaginta marcarum monete regni nostri. Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas prefatas viginti libratas terrarum de Durroure, videlicet septem mercatas terrarum de Cowll et Glencallachane, septem mercatas terrarum de Ardsell et Lagmahall, tres mercatas terrarum de Ballychelis, quinque mercatas terrarum de Auchnanderrach, tres mercatas terrarum de Auchycarne, quinque mercatas terrarum de Auchycar et Auchinblare, ac totas et integras prefatas viginti mercatas prefatarum terrarum de Glenkovne, cum omnibus suis pertinenciis, prefato Stewart et heredibus suis masculis, de nobis et nostris successoribus in feodifirma et hereditate imperpetuum Per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas prout facent in longitudine et latitudine in boscis planis moris marresis viis semitis aquis stagnis riuolis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupaciombus venacionibus piscacionibus petariis turbariis carbonariis lignis lapicidiis lapide et calce fabrilibus brasinis brueriis et genestis cum communi pastura libero introitu et exitu, ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis et asiamentis ac iustis suis pertinenciis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis, tam sub terra quam supra terram, procul et prope, ad predictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum, libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua reuocacione aut contradictione quacunque Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Alanus et heredes sui predicti nobis et nostris successoribus Summam quadraginta librarum vsualis monete regni nostri ad duos anni terminos consuetos festa viz: Penthecostes et Sancti Martini in hyeme per equales porciones, nomine feodifirme, in augmentacionem rentalis nostri annuatim ad Summam decem marcarum monete predicate Acetiam heredes dicti Alani suprascripti duplicando dictam feodifirmam primi anni eorum introitus ad prefatas terras prout vsus est feodifirme; necnon dictus Alanus et heredes sui suprascripti edificantes et sustentantes super prefatas terris vnam sufficientem

mansionem cum aula camera coquina, horrio boscari stabulis columbari hortis pomeriis et aliis poleciis necessariis solo correspondentibus In cuius Testimonium huic presenti carte nostre magnum Sigillvm nostrum apponi precepimus Testibus vt in aliis cartis precedentibus consimilis date Apud Falkland septimo die mensis Decembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo Tricesimo octauo Et regni nostri vicesimo sexto.

Copy of a statement made in writing by Alexander Stewart of Ballachelish soon after the battle of Killiecrankie, in a letter to Invernahyle.

"I SHALL give you as good an account as I can of the man who appeared to us last summer in so extraordinary a way. Everything about it is so strongly in my mind as at the time he was with us, and I think I will never lose the memory of it. When Lochiel got letters from Claverhouse, he came to see Appin upon them. We all went to Letter-shuna to meet them; everything was settled overnight, and Lochiel came on with me the day after, and slept that night with us. Next day I put him over the loch; it was a grey morning, but it cleared up, and was a fine warm day, without any wind. When I came back I went up to the Knap (a knoll near Ballachelish), and lay down in the sun; my dog Brandt was lying by me. I was there for some time between sleeping and waking, and thinking upon the business we had been speaking about, when Brandt started up and began to bark. I looked up and saw a man coming over the moss to where I was. I rose up, and I observed as he was walking to me that he had a long Spanish gun in his hand. When he came up he spoke to me by my name, which I was surprised at, as I had never seen him before. After some speaking, he told that he was a gentleman who had got into trouble, and that he had come into that part of the country to be out of the way. He said he could not then tell me what his name was, for it would be as much as his life was worth, and that he must keep as private as possible, that he would, with my leave, come and take his food with me, and, as the surest way not to be known, that he would wish not to say a word when he was with us. He then said that if I did not think it necessary, he would be better pleased if I took no notice at home of his having met me, as he thought there would not be so great a chance of his being found out if we all seemed to know nothing about him. I told him that he would be perfectly safe with me, whoever he might be, and I hoped he would sleep in the house as well as take his meat with us, and that I would promise my head that no harm should happen to him from any one while he was with me. I said, too, that I would trouble him with no questions, that he might do just as he pleased, but that I was not sure that it was the best way with my wife to keep silence altogether, for the more secret there was, the more anxious she would be to find it out, and that it would be better to tell her some story that would keep her

quiet ; yet, that I was ready to do whatever he thought most likely to keep him most safely. He answered that it would be the surest plan to be altogether silent, and that it would be better to leave my wife to make anything of it she could, as he would take every care to let that be as little as possible. He said he was obliged to me for my offer of shelter, but that he was in so much danger that he would keep from going amongst other people as much as he could, and ended by saying that he hoped the time would come when he would be able to thank me openly for my kindness, if I would oblige him in these things. I then said that any gentleman in distress would always have my best assistance, still that I was sorry he did not put himself entirely into my hands, that I might be the better able to be answerable for his life ; however, whatever he thought the best way he might depend upon it that I would do everything I could to keep him from harm. He then left me. This was all that passed between us. While we were in conversation, I observed him very particularly. He was a man, to appearance, of about thirty years of age, and something above the middle size. He was not a very strong-looking man, but he was clean made and well put together ; he was good-looking in the face, with some few marks of the smallpox, but not very many. He had a straight nose, and there was a great deal of fire in his eyes when he spoke ; his hair was of a dark brown colour, and altogether no man could doubt that he was a gentleman. His Gaelic was like that which is spoken in the Isles, and I noticed that when he put out his right hand in speaking, that there was a cloth about it, as if it had been hurt. His clothes were of a red and green dark set, and his arms seemed to be very good. When he had gone a little way, he turned and made a sign to me. I walked home wondering who he could be. I told Beatrice that as the country was astir that it would be as well to have always plenty of meat ready. When it was near night there was no word of him, and I began to doubt that he would come ; but just as we were sitting down he stepped in. When he entered he said, and went and laid his gun and sword in a corner, and drew up to the table. I said he was very welcome, and asked where he had come from, but he gave no answer. I put two or three questions to him, but seeing he was not inclined to speak, I said that as the gentleman might have reasons for his silence, we would not trouble him at present, but I hoped he would give us his news by-and-bye. Every person looked much surprised, and very little was said, and I believe that very little was eaten, but the stranger eat heartily. When we had done he took his gun and sword and went out again, looking very sorrowful, and appearing to be much cast down. After he was gone there was nothing but wondering who he could be. We were all very uneasy. In the morning he came again, and went away as before. It was got amongst the people, and they did not like it as they were so soon to go out ; they thought it was a bad sign. Old John Lorne swore that he would make him speak, cost what it would. I told them he could be nothing but an unfortunate gentleman who had come amongst

us for safety, and that no man should touch him while in my hands. They were not easily satisfied, and they were determined to find him out, and have from him what he was, but I kept them quiet, and desired that no man should go after him. He continued to come and go in this way for three days, and although I always spoke to him when he entered the house, he never said a word to me again, but he was always very civil. Nobody ever saw anything of him during the day, but when night was coming on he was observed to come out of the glen. The people did not know what to make of him, and after all their brave speaking at first, none of them could find heart to go near him when he was to be seen, and when they went to the hill they would go two or three together, but none of them ever met him. When he would come in before the meat was ready he would sit down, but still he never spoke a word. He would look much at the children, and took great notice of them, and he made much of Hector, who is growing a fine lad, and after the first while, when he went near him, he would show him his dirk and his pistols, which had the Doune mark on them, but he never spoke a word. On the fourth day it was rainy with a high wind, and he did not come in the morning, at night there was no appearance of him, and we began to think he had left us, which I was very thankful for. I did not grudge him his meat and drink, poor man, but I did not like his coming and going without telling us anything about himself; I was afraid his appearance was to warn me of some misfortune, but I said nothing.

"We were all busy getting ready to meet Dundee, and I began to think less about him. The people, now that he was away, were making their joke of it, and hoping that I would never have such another stranger.

"At Rin Ruarie (Killiecrankie) I was hurt in the hand, and I afterwards remembered that it was in the same hand that this man had tied up. When we went down to Dunkeld I was sitting by myself in a house where we were, all the people being gone out to kill a cow they had got. It was towards evening, and it was very hot. The door was opened, and the same man came in; he was looking as when I saw him before, with the same sorrowful look. I said to him there could be no reason for his concealing himself now, as he had come amongst so many people, and that I hoped he would let me know who he was. He replied that he was sorry that was not yet in his power, but that he could not be near me without coming to thank me for the way I had behaved to him, but that we should meet again. Upon saying this he immediately went out. I followed him, but I could not see him; and although I asked all that I met whether they had seen such a man, I could hear nothing of him. Next day we tried to take the Cathedral, and poor Sandy was killed. I now think he was sent to warn me of this; and yet in the way he spoke there was nothing different from other men, and nobody thought he was anything else but a gentleman. It is now ten months since he came amongst us, and I have never been able to hear more of him. It has always been very heavy on my mind, but I say

nothing, whether it means anything more than has yet happened God knows, but his will be done, which ever way it is."

It is understood that the "man" turned out to be a Macdonald, who had been obliged to fly from his own clan to avoid the vengeance of his neighbours for some offence he had committed.

List of the killed and wounded of the Appin Regiment at the battle of Culloden, copied from MS. left by Alexander Stewart, Eighth of Invernahyle.

Ardsheal's family—

	Killed.	Wounded.
John Stewart of Benmore,	I	...
John, son to Alexander Stewart of Acharn,	I	...
James, son to Alexander Stewart of Acharn,	I	...
John Stewart,	I	...
John Stewart,	I	...
William Stewart, . . . . .	...	f
John Stewart,	I	...
Duncan Stewart, uncle to Ardsheal,	I	...
Dugald Stewart, standard-bearer,	I	...
Alan Mor Stewart, . . . . .	...	I
William Stewart, . . . . .	...	I
	8	3

Fasnacloich's family—

James Stewart, uncle to Fasnacloich, . . . . .	...	I
James Stewart, younger of Fasnacloich, . . . . .	...	I
John Stewart, son to Fasnacloich, . . . . .	...	I
John, son to Duncan Stewart, . . . . .	...	I
James Stewart, from Ardnamurchan,	I	...
Alan Stewart, son to Ardnamurchan,	I	...
	2	4

Achnacone's family—

Alexander Stewart, brother to Achnacone,	I	...
Duncan Stewart,	I	...
	2	0

	Killed.	Wounded.
Invernahyle's family—		
Alexander Stewart, son to Ballachelish,	1	...
Duncan, Donald, Dugald, and Alan Stewart, nephews to Ballachelish, . . . . .	...	4
John Stewart, from Ardnamurchan, . . . . .	...	1
Charles Stewart, from Bohallie, . . . . .	...	1
Alexander Stewart, of Invernahyle, . . . . .	...	1
James Stewart, brother to Invernahyle, . . . . .	...	1
Duncan Stewart, from Inverphalla, . . . . .	...	1
Donald Stewart, from Annat, . . . . .	...	1
Alan Stewart, died in the East Indies, . . . . .	...	1
Donald Stewart, nephew to Invernahyle,	1	...
John Stewart, from Balquidder,	1	...
Duncan Stewart,	1	...
John Stewart, . . . . .	...	1
	—	—
	4	12
Stewarts, followers of Appin—		
Duncan Stewart, from Mull,	1	...
Duncan, Hugh, and John Stewart, from Glenlyon, . . . . .	...	3
John Stewart—Macalan Vane, . . . . .	...	1
John Stewart, <i>alias</i> Macalan,	1	...
Duncan Stewart, <i>alias</i> Macalan, . . . . .	...	1
Malcolm Stewart,	1	...
Dugald Stewart,	1	...
Donald Stewart, natural son to Ballachellan,	1	...
Robert Stewart, natural cousin to Appin,	1	...
Robert Stewart, natural cousin to Appin, . . . . .	...	1
Ardsheal's family,	8	3
Fasnacloich's family,	2	4
Invernahyle's family,	4	12
Achnacone's family,	2	...
Stewarts, followers of Appin,	5	5
	—	—
	22	25
Commoners, followers of Appin—		
M ^c Colls,	18	15
Maclarens,	13	4

THE STEWARTS OF APPIN.

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	Killed.	Wounded.
Carmichaels,	6	2
M'Combichs,	5	3
M'Intyres,	5	5
M'Innishes, or M'Innises,	4	2
M'Ildeus, or Blacks,	1	...
Mackenzies,	2	3
M'Corquadales,	1	...
M'Uchaders, . . . . .	...	1
Hendersons,	1	1
M'Rankens,	1	..
M'Cormacks (Buchanans),	5	1
Camerons, . . . . .	...	1
M'Donalds, . . . . .	...	1
M'Lachlans,	2	...
Macleas, or Livingstones,	4	1
M'Arthurs,	1	...
Volunteer—George Haldane, nephew to Lanrick, Ardsheal having married Haldane of Lanrick's sister,	1	...
Total of killed and wounded,	92	65

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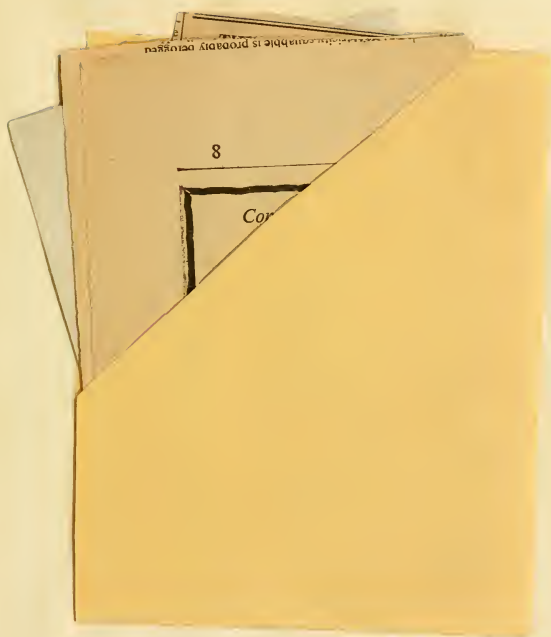
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14 May 1953 *Times* 7

THE APPIN MURDER

A MYSTERY UNSOLVED AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS

From Our Special Correspondent

The story of the Appin murder—the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure in the woods of Lettermore two hundred years ago to-day—has gone round the world in the pages of *Kidnapped*. "There came the shot of a firelock from higher up the hill; and with the very sound of it Glenure fell upon the road. 'O, I am dead,' he cried, several times over." David Balfour looked up the hill. "The murderer was still moving away at no great distance. He was a big man, in a black coat, with metal buttons, and carried a fowling-piece. . . . The next moment he was lost in a fringe of birches."

In history there was no David Balfour to witness the shooting, but the rest of it happened very much as Stevenson describes, and the mystery is unsolved to this

borrow as he moved from place to place. From James's house, when he arrived there, he borrowed a short black coat and some blue plaiden trousers—much the kind of dress that the murderer was seen to be wearing, but it was a dress fairly common in the Highlands at the time. Alan spent some days visiting younger people at Ballachulish and Fasnacloich, and on May 11 Alan and a few young people spent the night—some sleeping in the barn—at James's farm at Acharn. Alan undoubtedly had spoken wildly against Glenure at different times, and these meetings of his with young men may be significant, for to this day it is said in Appin that the murder was plotted by some young folk.

Alan, at any rate, had little talk with James himself on the night of May 11; they had no time to work out an elaborate plot of murder and escape. On May 12 Alan left Acharn early and visited friends around Loch Leven and Glencoe. The night of May 13 he spent at Ballachulish House, and the next morning—the day of the murder—he worked a little in the farmyard and then disappeared with a fishing rod. Glenure was expected to ride from Fort William during the day, crossing over the Ballachulish ferry to the Appin side. During the day Alan appeared again to ask the ferryman at Ballachulish south landing if Glenure had crossed. On being told "No," he was away again into the hill. Glenure later crossed the ferry, rode on a mile or two along the narrow hillside road (now grass-covered) towards Duror, and was shot at a place still marked by a small heap of stones. His young lawyer, who was among the few with him, had the glimpse of the murderer.

Later in the evening Alan, still in the neighbourhood, met a servant girl from Ballachulish House on the hill, asked "what was the occasion of the stir in the town," and, on being told that Glenure was killed, asked her to tell a Donald Stewart to get money for him from James of the Glen. Donald Stewart then went up the brae to meet Alan, who told him to tell James that he would wait for the money at Coalisnacloan, by the side of Loch Leven. Donald Stewart duly saw James the next day and James arranged for the money to be sent.

All this was used against James at the trial; but if James had had foreknowledge of the murder, and had promised to help in Alan's escape, he would surely have arranged the money beforehand, not leaving it to be arranged in haste afterwards. James sent the money because Alan Breck was a kinsman, a former deserter from the Hanoverian forces, and a man who would certainly be hanged if caught. Thanks to the money and his native wit, Alan was soon safely in France.

WITNESSES' VAGUENESS

The case against Alan is black and, were it not for the strong local tradition that he



day. Who was the man in the black coat? Some few families in the Appin district have had what is believed to be the secret handed down to them, but they keep it to themselves. Most people who have studied the old records agree that James Stewart of the Glen, hanged on a high knoll near the south landing at Ballachulish ferry on November 8, 1752, for being an accomplice, "art and part of the murder," was in fact innocent. Alan Breck Stewart—not quite so attractive a character as Stevenson made him, but still recognizable in the old records—was certainly lurking near at hand at the hour of the murder and is commonly thought to have shared in the plan. According to local tradition, however, it was not his hand that fired the long black gun.

HIGHLAND BELIEF

Everything combines to make the mystery live on in Highland minds. There is the unshakable belief that James of the Glen was hanged by an act of Government policy and clan vengeance. The Highlands in 1752 were still restive after the '45, there were rumours that Prince Charles would land again with a Swedish force; and a lesson had to be taught even though the real murderer was unknown. A Campbell had been murdered in Stewart country, so a leading Stewart representative in the district had to pay—after a trial presided over by the Duke of

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The main facts in the case are fairly clear. After the '45, Stewart of Ardsheel fled with many others to France; and James of the Glen, a natural brother of Ardsheel's, managed his estate in Appin for him for a time. Then the estate was taken over by the Government and Campbell of Glenure was made the factor over it. Glenure was at first content to let James go on collecting the rents. James handed the rents to Glenure but managed to keep a surplus to support Ardsheel's wife and family.

Then the authorities called Glenure to order, telling him in effect that he had been too lax and was letting Jacobite families take over the farms. Glenure asked James to move from his farm at Glenduror to Acharn (which James resented) and then, early in 1752, served notice on several families in the Appin district. They were to be evicted if they had not moved by Whitsuntide. James took up their cause and tried unsuccessfully before the Edinburgh courts to have the eviction orders suspended.

ALAN BRECK'S VISIT

At the beginning of May it was learned that Glenure would superintend the evictions on May 15. James forthwith wrote to two men of law, asking them to be present on May 15 to protest to Glenure on behalf of the tenants. This is an important point in his favour, suggesting that he was bent on all forms of legal protest and not of violence. It is beyond doubt that at the hour of the murder—between 5 and 6 o'clock on May 14—he was working quietly on his farm. Generally, in fact, he was a mild mannered man, although at the trial several witnesses declared that after he had been moved from his Glenduror farm he had spoken violently against Glenure when (in the old phrase) he was "concerned in drink."

There were others about him, however, younger and more headstrong. First of them was Alan Breck, then paying one of his clandestine visits from France. Alan used to arrive in his French clothes—a long-bodied blue coat, red waistcoat, black breeches and tartan hose, and a hat with a black feather. These he would change for any clothes that he could

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WITNESSES' VAGUENESS

The case against Alan is black and, were it not for the strong local tradition that he did not actually fire the shot, it might be taken as conclusive. If not he, who then? Trying to sift the evidence at the trial (well set out in the *Notable Scottish Trials* series, published by Hodge) is fantastically difficult, for most of the many witnesses had all the old Highland vagueness about time, and throughout the critical days everyone seemed to be visiting everyone else. The young people especially were here, there, and everywhere.

Anyone reading the records would be glad to know more about the movements of a certain Ewan Roy MacColl, who came to Acharn from Glencoe (presumably past Lettermore) on the day of the murder. A greater question is whether Alan Breck—always impulsive, "a desperate foolish fellow," as James called him—was suddenly persuaded to take a part in the murder by one of the young Stewarts at Ballachulish House? One of the strongest local traditions is that the shot was fired by Donald Stewart, the nephew of Stewart of Ballachulish, in league with John Stewart of Fasnacloch, leaving Alan Breck to draw the pursuit away from the others. Other inquirers, again, would like to know more about the movements of James's own son, Alan Beg (Little Alan). Alan Beg had a black jacket very like the one Alan Breck was wearing. On the afternoon of the murder Alan Beg went alone from Acharn, according to his own evidence, to the hill called Fraochaidh—which is about as far from Acharn as Lettermore is. Earlier in the year, about April 1, he wrote a letter to Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie complaining of Glenure's actions, and adding: "However, it shall be a dear glen for them or (before) they shall have it." Further, it is said that Alan Breck, when in France, declared that it was Alan Beg who committed the murder.

No son surely would let his father hang for his own deed, but another of the Appin traditions is that on the day of the hanging a man had to be tied down by his friends to prevent him from going to declare the truth at the place of execution. The friends no doubt thought that poor James was doomed in any case. So the mystery remains.

* Pictures on page 12.

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